

JOURNAL
OF
THE MILITARY SERVICE INSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES.

"I cannot help plead to my countrymen, at every opportunity, to cherish all that is manly and noble in the military profession, because Peace is enervating and no man is wise enough to foretell when soldiers may be in demand again."—GENERAL SHERMAN.

Vol. XXXIX. SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER, 1906. No. CXXXIII.

THE CITIZEN SOLDIER, THE VOLUNTEER.*

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LATE COLONEL THIRD ALABAMA VOLUNTEER INFANTRY (NEGROES),
AND COLONEL THIRTY-NINTH INFANTRY, U. S. VOLUNTEERS.



HE customs of a people are not changed in a day, nor even in an age. Let us not, therefore, be deceived by visions, schemes or prophecies of a great trained standing army or a special trained reserve for our country. You and I will not see them, but your wars and mine will, as in the past, be fought by volunteers. It is therefore the manifest duty of every one of us into whose hands may fall the command of such forces to study generally the methods of raising and organizing them, their temper, qualities and characteristics, that he may, if possible, know how to attain real as well as nominal command of them, know what to expect of them, and learn the best methods of dealing with them in camp, in campaign and in battle.

In pursuing this study for my own benefit I made, of such things as to me seemed noteworthy, and especially of such as seemed usually overlooked, the incomplete notes which are here, in a pinch of time, strung together into a disconnected article.

I THE VOLUNTEER FROM THE BOOKS.†

Whatever may be the scheme or law for enlisting volunteers in future wars, it may be safely said that no plan can be put in

*Read Dec. 20, 1905, before the Minnesota National Guard Association, at St. Paul, Minn.

†From notes before the Spanish-American War.

successful practice and no law enforced unless it accord with the temper, customs and traditions of our people. This means that the enlistment of volunteers will be done still in the way of our fathers, that is, largely by private initiative, a citizen sometimes without a commission, sometimes without even a suggestion from the State authorities, raising a company, battalion or regiment and tendering its services to the State. Thus were raised the armies that fought the great Civil War and thus no doubt will be raised the armies that will fight the wars of this, our generation. No doubt a large number of our National Guard organizations will offer and be accepted as a whole, but many will be too thin in the ranks. To fill these then and to add others we shall have to resort to the traditional methods of the past.

From this broad experience a few things touching enlistment and recruiting stand out in striking significance and as our guides for the future:—1st. For recruiting officers, volunteers are unsurpassed, incomparable for speed and effect; their spirit, their enthusiasm is the very contagion of enlistment. 2d. Fill up the old, do not recruit new regiments; a little leaven soon leavens the whole lump. 3d. Industrial conditions indicate classes and places where men suited for certain purposes should be found. Machine shops and factories furnish good artillerists. Clerks, employees and laborers on great concerns, working under an overseer, yield ready obedience and are quickly available for duty after a short training under arms. Farmers make good cavalry and pioneers. These points were most clearly illustrated in the armies of the Confederacy, which generally had good cavalry and pioneers, indifferent infantry and wretched artillery.

Worthy also of remembrance, as verified by experience, are the following:—

1st. Other things being equal, men who have been in the habit of giving orders, directing and controlling others, as managers of large concerns, overseers and foremen, will be the most quickly available and in the end probably the best officers and non-commissioned officers. Slave holders were the best and quickest made commanders in the Southern armies.

2d. A large proportion of artillery is required for volunteer forces. The artillery preparation for their attack must be very thorough, as a check to their movement seems almost certain disaster.

3d. It is useless to provide and load on an extensive equip-

ment. A volunteer will hardly carry his mess outfit; he will carry his intrenching tool only after two or three pitched battles, and his clothing bag never.

In America the habit of civil life is pre-eminently independent. Every one follows, if not his own inclination, at least his own initiative, and liberty of thought, speech and action is perhaps more extensive, more increasing and less interfered with than in any other civilized country on earth. We cannot expect that men living under these conditions and suddenly brought as volunteers under military rule should be submissive to discipline, and they are not. They are its hardest subjects. The lengths to which in the Civil War they carried resistance to it sometimes led into extreme and dangerous foolishness, sometimes into insubordination and bulldozing almost beyond the conception of one who never witnesses it. Company "Q" was an organization that silenced or drove out many an officer whose ideas of discipline passed beyond popularity and approached the needs of the hour. Let him who undertakes in the future to command volunteers expect similar experiences. Yet there is a saving principle. In America men volunteer for a definite purpose. They will do and bear whatever is necessary, but no more, to accomplish it. If they can be made to understand that discipline and obedience are so necessary, they may be counted upon to yield them, not full nor passive, but rational. On a commander's recognition and politic application of this principle hang his whole success with volunteers. In the past this understanding has been brought to our volunteer, sometimes by his own enlightened intelligence, sometimes by instruction, sometimes by the convincing argument of some disaster manifestly due to lack of discipline. In every case, however, it has seemed the first step necessary to obtain real discipline. The next, a severe but exact justice without mercy. The latter appears to have been the idea of the austere Jackson, probably the most successful disciplinarian and commander of volunteers that America has ever known. He prayed for their souls, and then caused his deserters, mutineers and cowards to be shot.

To the volunteer, untaught in its demands, war is a business the entrance upon which requires no preparation, only willingness to fight. The labor of preparation, the waiting, the submission, the surrender of self-control necessary to drill, to instruct, to make a soldier, seem to him either so much needless military "folderol," or else the dallying and delay of superiors

who foolishly fear to come to blows with a contemptible enemy. To overcome this feeling in the volunteer, to teach him that he cannot let go his pen or plow and be instantly ready and able to stand before any of the most trained soldiers on earth, to make him understand that military methods must differ from civil methods, that commanders must be arbitrary and autocratic and that all their decisions cannot be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, is a very difficult step in making the volunteer a soldier, requiring great tact, patience and knowledge of the American habits of thought and living. It is one, indeed, where have been witnessed, if not recorded in history, many stumblings, many falls, many full-stops. Here at the beginning of the Civil War many Regular officers attempting to train volunteers gave up the task in disgust and discouragement to return to the Regulars. Nor can it be claimed that on submission alone the volunteer quickly becomes a good soldier. He does not. To make good soldiers from even the most ready, willing and adaptable material takes time. The first Bull Run, fought July 21, 1861, showed both Federals and Confederates that their armies were but assemblages of raw, untrained and undisciplined men. The campaign ended immediately. Soldier-making was resumed and continued with great earnestness on both sides, yet neither felt his army prepared, nor dared, notwithstanding public impatience North and South, to resume hostilities for nine long months, till the opening of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, in April, 1862. Ten and fifteen years later two great European wars were fought to a finish, one in two months less, the other in two months more, time than two able American commanders found necessary to prepare their raw volunteers for a first real campaign.

Having, however, been finally made to see his obligations as a soldier, he may be relied upon to respond to them, to drop quibbles and do his whole duty. Of such instances history is full. I need mention but one, always referred to—the earnest work of organization, drill and discipline which followed the first Bull Run in the Army of the Potomac.

Notwithstanding occasional indications of what may be called disloyalty to his own officers in his own camp, our volunteer is incorruptible by the enemy. Let it go down to his everlasting honor; history can record not one general instance of the contrary.

In aggressive campaign, with an end in view and the purpose

of his leaders understood, the volunteer is at his best. The world can show no greater labors and fatigues more unhesitatingly undertaken, more zealously pressed or uncomplainingly borne under heat and cold or in the deadly damp and miasms of forests and swamps. In preparation for an advance or attack, no man can do more manual labor or do it more willingly. General Pope's command, displaying the greatest eagerness, stood in mud and water up to the waist and cut a great steamer canal in the deep-wooded swamps of Mississippi. It caused the fall of Island Number 10. The labors, discomforts and sufferings of General Grant's men in the swamps opposite Vicksburg are too well known to need description. In 1863 General Sherman marched east from Vicksburg. In four days he had completely destroyed 110 miles of railroad, countless cars, seventeen engines and the town of Meridian—a large, probably unbeaten, record. General Gillmore reduced Pulaski. To accomplish it he built in summer eleven batteries and put in place thirty-six heavy guns. Speaking of their labors, the Count of Paris says: "The site chosen for the batteries most distant from the landing was separated by two and one-half miles from the latter place. It became necessary not only to drag over this entire distance the gabions, the fascines, the timber for platforms, the gun-carriages, the cannon and the mortars which were to constitute the armament of the batteries, but to construct beforehand a causeway for the conveyance of all this heavy material across the swamp, the ground of which had about the consistency and elasticity of gelatine. This preparatory labor consumed a vast quantity of stumps of trees and brushwood. After it was completed, the Federal soldiers had another task to perform which was equally difficult. Every night after having assisted in landing the material on a dangerous shore, up to their waists in water, they harnessed themselves to heavy carts loaded with a portion of the armament, dragged them through the deep sand and along a narrow causeway, more than 1600 yards long. At times one might see more than 250 men striving with great difficulty to move one of these vehicles, sometimes lighted by the uncertain rays of the moon, which gave a false appearance of firmness to the smooth surface of the mud, sometimes bending under the gusts of wind which caused the sea to roar along the beach, lashing their faces with the salt foam."

If, however, our volunteer will do much, he also demands much. Americans are probably the most wasteful cooks and

liberal feeders among civilized men. As soldiers, their first demand is quantity and this demand is based on previous habits, not on present needs. The statistics of supplies and trains that have heretofore been necessary to bring supplies to an American army are so enormous, in figures so near infinity, that they fall uncomprehended upon the ear.

Our citizen generally has not yet become professional. He is usually ready and willing to undertake to do anything. This is a most valuable military quality. For instance, his unprofessional character as a soldier sometimes greatly enhances his military value as an officer. If he have military genius, it will be unhampered by fixed rules of military procedure and tradition. He needs and will follow only hard common sense, leaving off red tape and adopting the quickest, simplest, most direct methods. After soldiers are made, such a man as an officer knows well how to work them to success.

Most noteworthy in our volunteer is another quality manifested in regard to the line of communications of the command of which he belongs. He must know it either well guarded or else boldly abandoned. There can be no mean yet safe course with him in this respect. If such be attempted it is likely to turn the first skirmish into a disaster, as with the Federals at Ball's Bluff, where an unfounded fear as to this line led to a wild flight and dreadful slaughter, or the Confederates at Rich Mountain, where McClellan won a battle by a mere threat. But let no commander of volunteers who desires and has good reasons to do so, fear boldly to abandon his line of communications and to let his men know it. If they have the least confidence in him and understand his reasons, their discipline, energy and boldness instantly increase fourfold. They are on their mettle. Every man conceives a personal responsibility for success of the movement, and if possible he will make it a success. The most daring and successful operations, the most brilliant and effective results, the greenest laurels in this field are the American volunteer's. Remarkable illustrations in the Mexican War are, Doniphan's Expedition, Kearney's California trip and Scott's march to the City of Mexico. More wonderful still, as executed in the presence of a worthier foe, are Grant's march from the Mississippi toward Jackson and return, leaving the enemy's large army in his rear and almost on his path, Sherman's march to the sea, Stuart's cavalry raid, June, 1862, and Grierson's dashing and effective raid from Jackson, Tenn., to Baton Rouge, La.

Before his first battle the volunteer generally manifests an over-weening self-confidence and conceit. I point to the two great Armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia at the first Bull Run, before battle ridiculous in their impatience and brag; after it, one crest-fallen and ashamed in defeat, the other in helpless confusion in victory. This self-confidence is not generally thought so serious a fault or a fault at all, yet it is a feeling against whose possible results a commander must make careful provision. At Belmont the Federals' first dash sweeps away the Confederate lines. Inexperience and conceit make them think that they have everlastingly cleaned out and driven off the enemy. They stop, scatter and mix. A few officers see the danger and try to guard against it. They endeavor to collect their men. The latter, cock-sure that the Confederates dare not face them again, yield but slowly, and the officers have such poor success that when the enemy returned, as he quickly did, the late victors were almost hurled into the river.

The more serious defeat of unsoldierly independence renders the volunteer at first unwilling and slow to perform those duties in their nature implying subordinate position. Such are waiting for the orders and adhering to the plans of a superior, report of their own movements and action, the collection and transmission of intelligence. At Fair Oaks it destroyed all unity of action. Division and brigades on both sides went into and out of battle independently, without orders, without reports, and the only results of bravery and hard fighting were carnage and disorganization without decision. A colonel of cavalry in northern Mississippi saw a long column of Confederate mounted men moving north. He neglected to report to his general until the mounted infantrymen, Van Dorn's, had marched around General Grant's army, reached its line of communication, cut it, captured the main depot at Holly Springs and ended the campaign by necessitating the retreat of the whole Federal Army.

The volunteer is especially nervous about his flank or rear. Over against this, however, stands the fact that he is quickly rallied and reorganized and then sets himself with determination to prevent further disaster or even retrieve the day. German-town and Brandywine are examples. Under such circumstances he appears at his greatest bravery.

With regard to this quality, bravery, you may surely not count him the possessor of that stolid stuff which will allow him to be made a target of. He hasn't it. He cannot be made to

stand quietly and be shot down. He will sacrifice himself, but not thus. He will rush into the jaws of death in the excitement and glory of action, but I know of no instance where he has stood stocklike and died, or even passively received blows, in order to occupy the enemy while his comrades in another direction are gaining some advantage.

Nor, it seems, can he be relied upon to defend permanent works subject to long siege or bombardment. If he must sit and be shot at in a closed fortification he soon yields. The Confederates would not defend Island Number 10, nor Henry, nor Donelson, nor Pulaski, nor the forts below New Orleans. Their losses in each of these cases were trifling, yet the moral effect was unbearable, overwhelming their spirits. Striking examples from the opposing side were Harper's Ferry, which fell with 11,000 able defenders at the shriek, we may say, of Jackson's first shell; also the small but well equipped and manned posts in Kentucky and Tennessee, that yielded often at the bare threat of bombardment by the partizans, Forrest and Morgan.

Briefly as to tactics; for use with volunteers, tactical principles, not systems of tactics, are needed. Napoleon taught us that if we must fight with untrained men, being unable to adapt the men to the tactics, we must try to adapt the tactics to the men. To attempt to use elaborate high formations and complicated movements with volunteers is a gross disregard of this great principle and the last folly. Make the best of those simple movements which volunteers have had time to learn. Without regard to prescriptions of tactical systems, try to suit your battle formations to the character of your men, to the needs of the hour, and above all to the chances of success, remembering that in the beginning with volunteers it is better to lose 10,000 men than one fight. Men lost in victory are more easily regained than morale lost in defeat.

American armies are made up of many nationalities and are thus the average and resultant of all. To handle them successfully requires in a commander the utmost versatility of genius, always upon observation to avoid difficulties of character and disposition, always alert, to know how and quickly to turn their characteristics, pride or passion to the advantage of his cause. These needed qualities in a commander found striking exemplification in some commanders of the Army of the Potomac in the various battles before Richmond. That army contained many Irishmen, even whole regiments. By skilfully connecting Eng-

land with the Confederate cause, by bearing the green flag beside the Stars and Stripes in times of stress, by any expedient arousing toward the Confederates the old Irish hatred of England, these wild fellows were made to fight like very devils.

In opposing Banks's advance upon Shreveport, the Prince of Polignac in similar manner turned to profitable account the French characteristics of some Louisiana regiments. I mean to say that local pride and characteristic, and the customs and traditions of the men composing any given body of troops, furnish the strongest hold upon them. With fresh volunteers these things take the place of the veteran trained or professional soldier's professional pride, military honor, *esprit de corps* and corps traditions; rather than be untrue to which traditions he will grimly add a glorious death to this heritage of his surviving comrades. Better armed than with a just cause is the commander who shall note and know how to take advantage of this thing.

Politics taints volunteer troops in every stage of enlistment, organization, discipline and command. Through politics the private directs his general. Politics dictated from McClellan's headquarters in '62 the dangerous general order calling the attention of his army to the blunders of Mr. Lincoln's Republican administration. Politics also sent Lee to Gettysburg.

Newspapers oppose often serious obstacles to the smooth management of volunteers. They reach and affect everybody. By intemperate criticism they create dissatisfaction, questioning and insubordination. It is doubtful whether the extreme state of demoralization existing in Burnside's army after Fredericksburg was due more to defeat or the rabid utterances of the newspapers.

In the leadership of volunteers in battle itself, we may note three things as very important, if not essential, for success with them: 1st. A correct plan. With all troops and under all circumstances this is of the utmost importance. With volunteers it is essential, for one simple reason; once in motion in battle they may perhaps be stopped or withdrawn, but not turned. 2d. A personal leadership at the head, not direction from behind. "Example" to the volunteer "is better than precept," and he demands to see his officers lead the way where they desire him to go. 3d. Leadership of high rank. The volunteer cares but little for his company officers. He regards his colonel more, but his general is the first superior for whom he feels any great

respect. To the question, Who was your commander? our old war volunteer always replies, General So and So.

So we read that Hancock repulses Early at Williamsburg, "leading in person, sword in hand"; that Jackson leads "in person" at Fort Republic; that Johnston, Confederate commander-in-chief at Fair Oaks, "rushes in person in the midst of the fight leading a brigade." Such examples are guides. These officers were great commanders of volunteers. If the place of the leader had not been here, they would not have been here.

Let the officer, regular or volunteer, who would in case of a great war undertake the organization, training and leading of volunteers, measure himself. A great demand will be made upon him. To meet it he must bring besides knowledge, decision, resolution and bravery, an infinite tact and patience, a long-suffering and perseverance that will enable him to meet with unruffled temper the harassments, the daily frets and worries, most of them based on trifles or nothing at all, of handling inexperienced, touchy soldiers. Nor can ambition be his sole incentive. That cannot suffice. He must be stayed in his purposes by a stronger and nobler passion—patriotism.

II THE VOLUNTEER AS I HAVE SEEN HIM.*

War has come and gone. From first to last my lot was cast with the volunteer—negro and white man, Southerner, Northerner, Westerner, mountaineer, plainsman. Now that I have seen him, commanded him, slept, eaten, lived and fought with him, how does he impress me?

He is always criticized. Before those who have commanded him, he needs no defense. To his honor and credit be it said that those who have seen him oftenest, who have inspected him most closely, who have served with him and know him best, esteem him most. To them this article does not speak, but to those who have seen him from afar, or commanded him little, it does, that they may see his virtues and think not alone of his faults, that his high qualities of patriotism, enthusiasm, energy and dash may not be refused high valuation on account of the lack of that military finish which alone distinguishes him from the regular.

From the test of service under my own eye in camp, in campaign and in battle, he has emerged, to my mind, with virtues looming and vices dwindling. If I laud him greatly, think not

*From notes during Spanish-American and Philippine Wars.

that it is for his lack of training, but in spite of it. If I hold him high, say not that I belittle the training of the Regular or would leave it off, but that I rejoice in the conviction that, great regular army or small, we have a hope—the Volunteer.

In the outward forms and marks of respect to rank and authority he is generally wanting, but this means no serious lack, no disabling defect at heart. Form is not substance nor sign the thing signified. Those who have noted, and with most gusto criticized him for this fault, are heard no more when comes the hard test of service and of battle.

The volunteer is a soldier from choice and patriotism, not from other motives. He is therefore always an advocate and enthusiast for the war that he comes to fight, ever in sympathy with the purpose and the policy of his government. The military value of this thing in all operations is incalculable. It sends men without complaint, with enthusiasm, to the most disagreeable, the most arduous, the most unpromising labors. It was a pre-eminent characteristic of our Philippine volunteers and made them the peers of the best regular troops in all energy, zeal and activity. It won them the warm regard of all zealous supporters of the Government and the flag. Let it be put down, let it be remembered ever to their credit.

War is no longer in our day an issue at arms alone; it is fought out with all modern devices and appliances, and that side wins which can best marshal the skill and the aid of all professions and all vocations. In the ranks of almost every volunteer regiment can be found every kind of man, every profession, every ability that war can call for—doctors, lawyers, engineers, mechanics, laborers, clerks, telegraphers, bridge-builders, boatmen, engine-drivers, mule-drivers, railroad men, machinists, everything. There is nothing that they are not, nothing that they cannot do. In the Philippines my own volunteer regiment, while campaigning and fighting, furnished men who knew how to build, and who did build and operate telegraph and telephone lines, roads, bridges and water-works, run steamboats and ships, make, execute and administer law, and establish government in all its branches. A New York regiment, annoyed in movement by a railroad strike in Cuba, found men in its ranks who knew how to take charge of the road and they did in effect so take charge of it and operate it as long as they needed. Could the average regular regiment have done so much? I doubt it; for, in the matter of having all kinds of

men in the ranks, few regular regiments can come up to the average volunteer.

From the life of the professional soldier the military law of promotion according to seniority has largely excluded competition, which is the principle of progress and the triumph of the fittest. To hold his own, nay, even to advance, it would almost seem that he sometimes has but little more to do than to breathe on; it is not necessary for him to surpass competitors. Such conditions can have but one effect—stagnation. Not so with the walks of life from which come our volunteers. Their minds are kept bright and keen with the competition of their fellows, and so they come to the colors. This one thing, I have repeatedly had occasion to note, has gone far, often all the way, toward wiping out the inferiority of the volunteer's training. It was a keen-witted volunteer that designed and executed the capture in the very center of his camp, from the very midst of his men, of the most daring and troublesome guerilla chieftain of the Philippines, the notorious Arturo Howard.

Was it hard, as the books had told me, to secure the volunteers' obedience? It is hard to secure obedience from any soldiers, regulars or volunteers, but concerning volunteers, I assert, and believe I have with me all who have lately commanded them, that when once volunteers are convinced that their commander knows his business, their obedience is forever his; it becomes something wonderful; it is unhesitating, unquestioning, loyal to a degree that is positively delicious, exhilarating, inspiring to a commander. Ask Regular officers who commanded them in the Philippines. They haggled not over fine points of regulations. Their question was, "Does the colonel order it?" "Yes." It is done. The memory of this is a joy to all whose duties then put upon them the doing of a thousand things that were never even dreamt of in the philosophy of the army regulations.

Patriotic? Hereon I need say no word. If he were not, he would be no soldier, for he is one of his own will.

Brave? He does such deeds as this: A soldier of mine, single-handed and alone, without food and without drink, wounded, burned and bruised, for five whole days from the head of a cañon fought two companies of Aguinaldo's insurgents. He literally shot them to a standstill; he killed some thirty men, and being at last too weak and exhausted to stand, and unable longer to bear the stench of dead enemies about him, he crawled away, undiscovered. Dragging himself along, he saw a patrol

of the enemy, and without need, of his own accord, opened another fight with these. His shots brought comrades to find him weakly but calmly sucking an orange beside the body of his last victim.

Soldiering, the vocation of the professional, is the avocation of the volunteer. To the former it is the usual humdrum; to the latter, a well-spring of novelty; his enthusiasm bubbles and effervesces; he rushes headlong at the smallest things—all is so new to him. That is foolish, you will say. I answer, it works sometimes the most wonderful results. It may lead him into many absurdities; it is likely at any time to run him into a deed that electrifies the world. A little volunteer in the Philippines was constantly running out on wild-goose chases after every guerilla and partizan he could hear of in the woods. He got himself greatly laughed at until one day he bagged the head of the whole insurrection, Aguinaldo himself.

In war, of all things originality, new methods, are likely to prove the most successful, because the most unexpected. Military training is unfortunately too often synonymous with surrender of individuality and originality. Set methods, rigid uniformity are its rules, and both officers and enlisted men are apt to fall into the habit of using nothing else themselves and expecting nothing else from the enemy. Not so the volunteer. He is fresh from among a people whose originality, whose schemes and innovations keep the world dazzled. No traditions bind him, no set methods guide him; the circumstances and conditions of each case lead him. He is likely to be full of the most valuable originality and he is ever on the alert for the like in the enemy. It was a volunteer, the adjutant of my own regiment, who caught, broke up and punished the smuggling by the enemy of great numbers of cattle into the City of Manila during the worst days of Aguinaldo's insurrection. It was another, my major, who did this: After three officers, his seniors, had apparently decided such passage impossible, he managed with his horse's picket-rope to cross two of his companies over a deep cañon in southern Luzon, saving its passage by a single sunken road under the enemy's deadly fire and flanking from an otherwise almost impregnable position a great force of the enemy without the loss of a man. To the trained, educated Regular officer I hope our country will continue to add the direct, original, fresh-minded citizen-soldier, the volunteer.

He overdoes the hero business sometimes. Let him. By

this he alone brings—to him alone is due—those rare periods and flashes of willingness in our people to appreciate a soldier at all. For this I for one as a soldier salute and thank him.

And blows his own horn. What can be said to this? That the walls of Jericho went down before men who were blowing their own horns. That is the American way; it is the habit of enthusiasm, the expression of faith in ourselves, a faith that is even now literally moving mountains and casting them into the sea.

His common error is to think too much of formal drill, to hold it the first almost the whole thing in soldiering. He is wrong. It is not only not the first, it is almost the last. Before it come feeding, hygiene, supply, equipment, discipline, almost everything. Drill, as generally understood—for battle it has become almost as much of a fantasy as the lance and the saber.

His main demoralization, his nightmare, his unconquerable aversion, the thing which he can never be brought to accept at all, is the unutterable system of reports and returns, the paper work, the red tape of officialdom. To the dogged resignation of the Regular in this matter he will never come. To his last day of service you may count that he will, if he can, evade or dodge, law, regulation and custom hereon. He regards the whole system as an outrage of authority, the devilish device of bigots and egotists in high places.

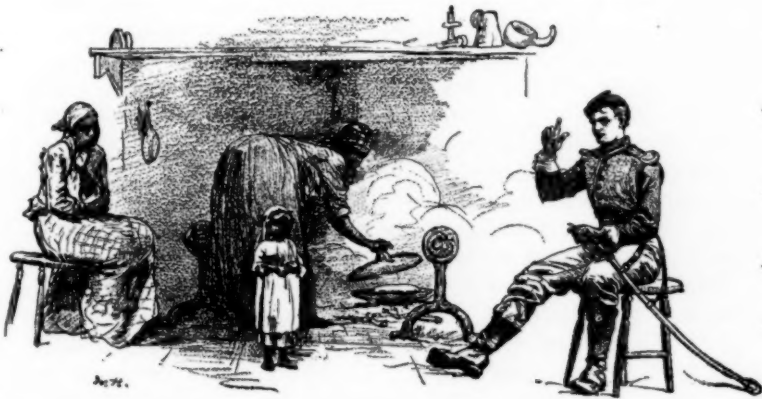
As an officer, that which has oftenest and most justly subjected him to criticism has been his not "rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." In the handling of government property, "overs," "excesses," "foundlings," "waifs" and "strays," "flotsam and jetsam" he is apt to regard as his own. Yet even here it is but fair to say that in many cases he treats them as the simple means of recouping himself for losses which he has sustained or is likely to sustain at the hands of what he considers the government's too straining system of accountability.

His predominant vice as a soldier is his independence, the exclusive mastership of self to which he has always at home been used and which he is slow, very slow, to yield to military authority. His predominant virtue is his patriotism, his zeal, his readiness, his absolute anxiety to do something. To you who may command him in war I say, use these and again use them. They will cover every vice.

When volunteers are gathered, you gather the intelligence

and patriotism of the land. These are military assets of the very highest value. The commander who fails or neglects to use them is worse than a fool, he is a criminal.

After all, what is the volunteer? What manner of man? Pre-eminently a soldier for the service of his country. His faults are faults of inexperience mainly; they pass with time and training. Yet here we meet his gravest objection. Though he come with all qualities and readiness, yet is he unprepared for a soldier's work. He comes with war and when war comes, it is an end of preparation; the struggle is upon us. While war is in itself the very best training, it is also the most deadly. It trains, but it kills. In making its thousands of the finest and best, it kills its other thousands who pass as a shadow. He costs, this volunteer, at least himself and another. Fine, undoubtedly fine he is, but he stands in the place of two, one of whom we see no more. But looking at him who lives, I have thought, surely he has snatched from death and added to himself the zeal, the energy, the enthusiasm and the patriotism of the comrade dying at his side.



CAVALRY AND CANNON.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH FOR THE MILITARY INFORMATION
DIVISION, GENERAL STAFF..

BY CAPTAIN W. A. HOLBROOK, FIFTH CAVALRY.



F for thirty years there has existed upon both sides of the Vosges a ground of discussion upon which have flowed waves of ink, a subject especially suited to military controversy, it has been without doubt the eternal problem: cavalry and cannon.

To dare, after so many others, to return to it to-day and to add, without fear, a few more pages to the enormous number of articles and brochures that have already appeared, there must be some new circumstances to serve as an excuse, and that which has intervened, or is upon the point of doing so, a modifying element to which until now attention does not seem to have been sufficiently drawn, is rapid-fire cannon.

Our country possesses one of them, excellent, specialists affirm. Soon in Europe each country will have its own, more or less good, and this progress in armament cannot remain without influence upon cavalry tactics.

With the olden time artillery and the musket of the First Empire squadrons could charge even upon bayonets. But with each improvement adopted since that epoch—needle-guns, repeating arms, continuous flattening of trajectory, constantly increasing intensity of fire, smokeless powder—cavalry formations have become less available so that certain minds prophesy their disappearance outside the too deadly zones of the bullet-swept field, notwithstanding the reaction urged by the regulations of May 12, 1899.

With the new cannon, will this withdrawing to the background be accentuated?

More and more reduced to a few rare and timid interventions, must the cavalry see itself definitely banished from the battle-field, excluded from decisive contact, from furious *mêlées*, consigned to thankless, distant tasks until the moment of supreme sacrifice imposed by disaster, or to pursuits without danger, moving out without true glory against panic struck

human herds? Perchance, on the contrary, may not rapid-fire cannon furnish the cavalry occasion for a new usefulness? May it not bring about its resurrection, its resumption of activity on the field of battle?

From plain good sense comes the reply.

Many people are astonished that, in our cavalry at the present time, the armament of the attached artillery is not uniform.

Anyone may verify this with his own eyes. Therefore, without betraying a great secret, it may be noted that the corps cavalry brigades are supplied with the new material, the independent divisions with the old 80 m.m. de Bange system, renovated, it is true, by a few small improvements of operation and equipment.

What seems good for one does not appear so for the other, and one continues to ponder somewhat upon it, for the corps cavalry brigades will be fatally dedicated to the same rôle as the independent divisions—at least after a few weeks' field-service, when the cavalry of exploration, fatigued, reduced in men and horses, must be reinforced by fresh units. Should one have the disturbing thought of exchanging his artillery at that moment?

I know very well that this question of artillery does not, as a general rule, greatly disturb cavalrymen.

Many of them—are they entirely wrong?—many of them regard the batteries which accompany them as hobbles placed about the legs of their horses, an embarrassment in the evolutions preparatory to the final crisis—the charge.

To try and blend these two heterogeneous elements, artillery and cavalry, to convert them into Siamese twins, much ink has flowed, but for this all the ink in creation will not suffice.

Notwithstanding the talent of professional or occasional military writers; notwithstanding the skilful maneuvering of cavalry chiefs; notwithstanding the enthusiasm of the horse-artillerymen, the problem has never been solved, and the artillery remains an embarrassment, an ankylosis germ for its cavalry.

Must this reason be held as sufficient and, as a last resort, must the separation of the two arms be decreed?

No cavalryman, even among the most uncompromising, would dare to pretend this, obliged as he is, not without a deep sigh of vexation, to recognize that to approach cavalry provided with artillery, when itself without it, would be pure folly, heroic, but fruitless.

For want of an international transaction copied upon that of Berne, in which the various European cavalry should unitedly agree to renounce the good services of artillery, it is necessary for the time being, notwithstanding the incompatibility of disposition and by reciprocal concessions, to be resigned to serving together, under the best arrangement practicable, in order to insure success in future struggles. Since the cavalryman cannot dispense with the artillery which accompanies him he will experience a degree of astonishment that its characteristics par excellence of mobility and rapidity are not guaranteed by all the best, most recent and most perfect materials. Will he not be right about it? This very delicate question should be touched with a light hand.

Those who must bear the responsibility know on what to rely, and that suffices for us. Moreover, these short pages in no wise pretend to seek out the motives of such a state of things, the anomaly of which must not, after all, too greatly dismay, the adversaries that our cavalry would find in front of it having no better.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to think of the future and not to allow ourselves to be distanced, for by all evidence the anomalous solution actually adopted by us must be only temporary.

For having waited a little while, our cavalrymen will see themselves indemnified, always provided that studies move along at a good rate, that trials come on with desirable rapidity, that appropriate bureaus do not too greatly prolong the period of incubation.

This ensemble of facts and deductions forcibly leads us to foresee that with us, and naturally with the others, the amalgamation of artillery and cavalry will shortly undergo a transformation. To produce lasting results it is certain that it will be necessary to take into consideration the nature of cavalry, unchangeable in kind; its special tactics, its characteristic temperament. Its chiefs must be consulted and their desiderata listened to, examined and complied with.

A childish wish, you will say, useless to express! No; this truth, this evidence, no one has respected.

How they did proceed in 1877? The de Bange 90 m.m. appearing suitable for artillery on the battle-field was adopted for the ordinary batteries. As for those of the cavalry, the problem offered no difficulty; a small decrease in caliber, very simple, and with the 80 m.m. the cuirassiers, dragoons,

hussars could only be satisfied. That is the way the cavalry cannon was created. Now the method borders on the absurd and the proceeding discards all one's opinions of common sense.

Cavalry should not be adjusted to cannon, but cannon to cavalry.

Explain to me why the two kinds for cavalry and infantry should be similar, spring from the same type. What axiom is invoked, since uniformity of caliber is not practicable in spite of hopes to the contrary, some of which have been quite recently expressed; since the difficult problem—replenishing different calibers—persists in any event.

Let other countries act according to their liking, but let us, in France, above all, have the courage of being logical to the end; let us have the courage to renounce the old ways, habits of mechanical minds, hybrid, bow-legged, rickety solutions in which only the undecided and mediocre, fearing to leave the beaten paths, take refuge.

Since, of necessity, cavalry cannot get along without it, let us give it a cannon, not a reduced infantry gun, but one truly suited to its purpose.

Call it anything you wish, revolving cannon, repeater, automatic oscillator, machine gun—it makes no difference. It ought to be as different from the cannon of ordinary batteries as cavalry is different from infantry.

It is necessary that this cannon should not be an embarrassment and that the most uncompromising cavalryman should make of it a friend; should regard it as part of himself. It is necessary that it should leave to the squadrons all their characteristic qualities, rapidity of gait, extreme mobility, instantaneity of maneuver. Then no more slowing up to allow the batteries to come up when the ground becomes a little heavy; no more formations frozen before hand; no more tournament figures—wings of a windmill—to turn like a tied dog, round a pivot—the unfortunate and cursed artillery.

Our regulations of May 12, 1899, clearly expressed that in this direction lay the only way of safety for its arm.

At the head of the chapter, "Employment of Cavalry in Battle," with good reason, are found the very short and precise words, "Cavalry is made for action; it acts by movement," printed in large type.

But this statement will remain in the purely dogmatic do-

main; will never be attained in all its possible and desirable fullness so long as cavalry batteries are not:

1. Very light, that is to say, infinitely more so than at present; therefore the caliber much more reduced.
2. Capable of being put in battery and pointed with ultra rapidity; therefore suppression of complicated instruments.
3. Assured against appreciable loss of aim; therefore continuous firing.
4. Provided with mechanism to permit wide lateral deviation; therefore instantaneous changes of objective and the possibility of following the opposing cavalry in its shiftings and sinuosity of evolutions.
5. Capable of heavy fire upon animate targets as well as an efficacious fire against obstacles.

These are the principal conditions.

Many others, secondary to them, might be added. All in all, they differ as a whole sensibly from the last material adopted, for if certain given characteristics were taken away the others would constitute innovations. All these essential qualities must be united; none can be sacrificed, especially the effectiveness either against troops or obstacles.

After having committed the fault of too great weight, to go to the other extreme would be no less deplorable; would too greatly diminish caliber and would lead to impotence.

Here it can be no question of compact projectiles, of solid shot, of machine guns, but indeed of a cannon of very small caliber, of explosive shells with a cone of depression, using time fuse, whose heavy report terrifies the moral.

It is a question of a cannon capable of attacking obstacles that a hundred machine guns would leave standing.

Against this statement, simple though it be, there will arise many exclamations—extravagance of an empty dream, romance, utopian, chimera, possible of realization a half century hence, perhaps, but for the present impossible.

Pardon, and allow me to introduce here a slight digression, going back some fifteen or twenty years.

One of our generals who actually attained the highest rank, colonel at the time, showed himself in his course of lectures an ardent precursor of rapid fire, small caliber cannon. Among his hearers, already far from young, his theories indeed raised distrust as to certain ideas of insoluble aspect, recoil, loss of

aim, subdivision of so small a projectile into compartments, fuses, etc., etc.

To these objections he always replied—"Submit the problem to the world of art and manufacture and it will be solved."

Impossible to make better reply or to foresee more clearly.

Infantry cannon of small caliber and rapid fire has come—and now in its turn cavalry cannon.

In conclusion, if it is necessary to reassure timid minds by a concession, since the thing presses and does not permit in the period of study of slow reflections, it might be allowable to place in service a first model, not fulfilling, perhaps, all the conditions desired, but which would indicate an attempt toward the new idea. A second and if necessary a third doing over would complete the work without excessive expense or ruin of the treasury, since the whole cavalry material is comparatively small and its entire substitution would be of relatively small cost. Therefore, without possible contestation, in one way or another, the conception is entirely capable of execution in one or several times, if you please.

Let there be presented in the manufacture certain difficulties of detail, they will be solved after various experiments in one or another of the modifying periods. Once more, that is not the origin of the holding back, but rather a few obstinately anti-progressive minds, rebellious at the new idea, enemies of everything not proven by experience. The spirit of the thing will finish by triumphing, promptly let us hope.

As to the cavalymen, they will be charmed—will feel themselves born again. The existing incoherence would disappear, for cavalry cannon cannot be the appanage of some and not of others; all regiments of independent divisions or of corps brigades have an equal right; their mission on the field of battle differs in no respect and their special rôles become, at least after a few weeks of war, interchangeable.

This progress in armament will infuse a new born vigor in our cavalry and to make the consequences of it appear it suffices to look over a few pages of official doctrines.

In consulting the provisional drill regulations for field-artillery—regulations bearing the date of November 16, 1901, and only prepared in view of the new material—we are struck with astonishment at the quite small paragraph, fifteen or sixteen lines at most, in which are formulated the mutual relations between cavalry and artillery. There only the service of bat-

terjes in cavalry combat is spoken of—which does not fail to appear sufficiently strange, it being understood that these new regulations are applicable to the new material only and that precisely the independent divisions are deprived of it. Upon its employment on the ordinary field of battle—not a word.

Happily the cavalry regulations of May 12, 1899, does not imitate this disconcerting, concise style, nor this silence which might make it appear a confession of weakness or, as certain artillerymen think, they, their cannon and the cavalry were to see nothing more of the grand *mêlée*.

To put a little method in our reasoning let us consider how cavalry armed with its true cannon would operate, first in combat against its own arm, then in battle, properly so called.

I COMBAT OF CAVALRY AGAINST CAVALRY.

With its extreme brevity, the artillery regulations thus expresses itself: (§641.)

Reconnaissance Period.—By preference to cause the artillery to march with the advance guard, to open a way, to sweep defiles, to command distant terrain. (Part I, page 285.)

On the other hand, the cavalry regulations declares, §456, first line, "During the march of approach, the horse-artillery conforms to the movements of the cavalry while using the highways, if practicable. It must be brought up in good time to such a place that it may be engaged instantly, if circumstances demand it, without its movements interfering with the cavalry (habitually near the head)."

Volume II, Chapter III, Appendix. Employment of Cavalry in Combat, page 17.

Let us note, in passing, these three items: "The artillery will use the roads as far as practicable;" "It must be brought up in good time;" finally, "without its movements interfering with those of the cavalry."

Does that say enough about it, or about the retarding weight of the material and the difficulty of easy evolutions in such heavy company?

On the day that we find an appropriate gun these restricting counsels will disappear and the artillery, an integral part of the cavalry, will march without effort in intimate union with it.

Let us continue our comparison.

"In sight of the enemy," says the artillery regulations, "to choose, while leaving free to the cavalry, the terrain best suited

to its action, the position permitting it to open fire upon the enemy's cavalry most advantageously" (§642, page 285).

The cavalry regulations seeks to point out more precisely: "In combat the artillery constitutes, by the same right as the other units, but with its special characteristics, one of the elements or echelons to be put in play for the execution of the attack." Then comes some suggestions upon the information to be given the chief of the batteries to render their entrance on the scene effective (§456, 2d, 3d and 4th lines, page 17).

Be it understood that with the 80 m.m. guns—the only ones we do not forget, which are at the disposal of the independent divisions, the artillery remains an element little capable of assimilation and no longer performs the office of echelon. The above rule, purely theoretical at the present time, must, therefore, rather be taken as a declaration of principles and a program for the future.

In the course of the engagement, adds the artillery regulations, 1. not to depend upon receiving any order in good time, and without hesitation to take the initiative of changes of position and objective; 2. to fire upon the opposing cavalry up to the last moment, then to take its artillery for an objective" (§643, page 285).

Here the two regulations agree, the cavalry regulations being always more explicit. "The first line of the opposing cavalry constitutes, in the beginning, the principal objective, then the more distant echelons and the batteries.

"The artillery commander acts on his own initiative for the execution of his mission, the choice of position and of successive objectives, and for such changes of position as may become necessary. He profits by fleeting circumstances of the struggle and always seeks to co-operate for the success of the principal attack."

In these three very clear, very correct and very prudent phrases the adoption of a new cannon would change nothing.

In that which concerns the last period of the combat, pursuit or retreat, the banalities of the artillery regulations ("to follow in case of success the enemy with its fire; to cover in case of reverse, the retreat and the rallying of the division") (§643, 3d and 4th lines, page 285) would be advantageously replaced by the three lines devoted to it in the cavalry regulations. "The artillery supports the pursuit, rapidly moving its batteries to the front.

"In case of a check, it sustains the retreat, firing from the position in which it may be or by forming echelon" (§456, 4th and 5th lines, page 18).

Unimportant, secondary details, mere caviling! Not at all. These differences of wording betray on the part of the artilleryman a regrettable tendency to particularize, and furthermore, it would be desirable that the two texts on this cannon should appear identical, or that the difference should only be found in the artillery manual on certain features, technical in their nature and of no use to the cavalryman.

Beyond its uncompromising recommendations on the pursuit and retreat, the artillery regulations have nothing more to say, and its penury of instruction shows a last peculiarity.

The cavalry regulations, indeed, speak of a very interesting factor—the artillery support—which the former wholly passes in silence, ignores, in fact, and perhaps imagines it superfluous.

This is the way the cavalry regulations expresses itself on the subject:

"The artillery is permanently provided with a support of variable strength. This support is charged with clearing the way for the artillery and protecting it from all surprise; maintaining the connection with the cavalry; defending the batteries in case of attack.

"The commander of the support is not under the orders of the artillery commander, but he acts in concert with him while holding himself in reach of effective intervention. He is responsible for the safety of the batteries.

"The presence of a special support in no wise removes the duty devolving on all troops near a battery to assist, if occasion arises, in its defense" (§457, pages 18 and 19).

Here is, therefore, a new proof of the trouble that a too heavy cavalry cannon brings with it in cavalry encounters.

Field-pieces and infantry amalgamate quite naturally upon the field of battle through the development of the various phases of the combat.

The cases in which the isolation of fractions of artillery make a support necessary are very exceptional.

Ordinarily drowned in the masses of foot troops—the more resistant bony structure of an organism of which the infantry forms the muscles—the artillery fights, triumphs, dies with its infantry. The homogeneity of the whole is complete, perfect, without fissures.

Why do not cavalry and artillery combine in the same way? Why does their grouping remain a deformed, contingent, inharmonious, discordant juxtaposition of two incompatible principles?

Nothing can be changed in the cavalry. In order that saddle-horses and carriages should go in together, it suffices to impose on the teams and distribute among them a weight that might almost be neglected. It is sufficient to adopt a gun whose placing in battery and whose departure after cessation of firing entirely eliminates the pompous movements and interminable slowness of the limbers.

That day these two dissimilar elements melted into a single one, the regulations could truly say: "In combat, the artillery constitutes, by the same right as the other units, but with its own special characteristics, one of the elements or echelons to put in play for the execution of the attack" (§456, 2d line, page 17).

On that day, likewise—and all should strive to render it very near—the quarrel of the procyclists and anticyclists will lose much of its interest.

Surely the partizans of the triple amalgamation—cavalry, artillery, infantry—will always rightly insist on the power of infantry fire, the effectiveness of which is undeniably precious on a thousand occasions. But for the adversaries of the system, the connection finally established between cannon and squadrons will furnish new arguments against cyclist companies which the terrain will sometimes prevent maintaining a sufficient solidarity with cavalry. From whichever point of view the question may be decided, the cavalry cannon will remain its own true support, by the wide dispersion of its fire; by the extreme simplification if not the entire elimination of the movements of the limbers; by the promptitude of preparations within the batteries; then by the possibility of instantly changing the objective; of forming defensive flanks, semicircles, etc.

Since artillery will henceforth march united with its cavalry, this special support becomes useless—this support that cavalry sees taken away from its regiments just at the decisive moment when it might be necessary to keep all the squadrons in hand for a final effort. And the cavalryman thus banished to the rear, near the batteries, far from the stirring desperate charges, holds in his bleeding heart a grudge against the artillery.

II THE BATTLE PROPER.

From the beginning, and not without some surprise, one notes the entire silence of the artillery regulations on those occasions in which the batteries and cavalry united might assist in the different episodes of a battle.

According to the editors of this document, would these two arms be condemned to remain passive spectators?

Better inspired, the cavalry regulations foresees their intervention—it even dares to say: “The use of the carbine and of cannon combined in the attack with the saber place the cavalry in condition to act effectively in all circumstances of war” (§435, page 8).

A bold affirmation perhaps—in any case premature; for as it is to-day constituted this instrument cannot be utilized in all stages on the field of battle—cannot, therefore, “act effectively in all circumstances of war.”

Ten pages further on, it is true, the cavalry regulations attenuates that which in the above allegation may have been over bold: “Combat Against Infantry (§458). The attack against infantry is executed when circumstances present an opportunity for success, and outside of these circumstances whenever an order is received for it.

“The moment is notably favorable: when the cavalry can surprise a body of infantry before it has time to form to repel the attack with the plentitude of its means: when it can charge a body of infantry already shaken or demoralized either during the combat or in pursuit: when the attention and means of action of the infantry are absorbed by another attack. Finally there are cases where it may be necessary to arrest or delay, cost what it may, an enemy victorious on one point of a field of battle” (§458, page 19).

Except when a heroic sacrifice becomes indispensable, cavalry formations supported by their actual cannon cannot, must not, approach certain parts of the field of battle, and the first phrase—too rash—of the regulations only express aspirations not yet realized.

But whatever may be the ardent desire of the cavalryman to resume his former place in combat, it would be wrong for one, in order to raise his courage and to increase his importance in his own eyes, to impose upon him by deceptive mirages.

It would be better to tell him the truth, to show him that

certain zones of the struggle are and will remain the exclusive domain of infantry; to rush to these with lowered head would be to run to sterile annihilation.

Even with the new cavalry batteries, the possibility and urgency of which already seem sufficiently established; even with intimate harmony between squadrons and cannon, cavalry will not be in condition "to act effectively in all circumstances of war."

For it the fire of the foot soldier remains terrible if it is well adjusted; that is to say, if the enemy is calm, master of himself, if he fires well, correctly, neither too high nor too low; if he has some units in depth not yet engaged; if he can on the instant, without stripping his first firing line, dispose of troops to form defensive flanks.

Then the cavalry will remain powerless; all its offensive movements against front or flank are doomed beforehand to defeat. The past abounds in examples; with much greater reason it will remain the truth in the future, with small arms being constantly perfected.

In all the zone of frontal or orientation attack the cavalry will therefore only play episodic rôles, very partial, without serious influence. But on other parts of the terrain at other moments of the struggle it will be very different. "The cavalry moves on the points most favorable for its intervention, in rear of the front or upon the flanks, in such a way as to always co-operate in the general action. The cavalry must then without deviation from the mission it has received neglect no opportunity to play a rôle, often capital, which occasions offer during the continuation of the struggle.

Notably it may have during the combat: to move upon the flanks or in rear of the enemy, to produce there with the aid of artillery a very efficacious action; to precede and to support any movement having for its object the overlapping of a wing of the enemy's line; to oppose itself to an analogous movement on the part of the enemy, or at any rate to give warning of it and to delay its execution; to take the offensive against the enemy's cavalry; to temporarily fill gaps which may appear in the line of battle; or even to move in the direction of the enemy's troops, whose arrival is anticipated on the battle-field, to arrest their march and delay their appearance.

Cavalry must participate from near-by positions in the struggle entered upon by the other arms. Divided into groups of

varying strength and concealed from the view of the enemy, it seizes every propitious opportunity to intervene in the combat, utilizing the terrain to advance under cover and to produce surprise. It must attack notably: any of the enemy's infantry already shaken by fire or which appears to be wavering; any artillery insufficiently supported or changing position within reach of its action" (§461, pages 21, 22 and 23).

This long enumeration of its multiple tasks, unfortunately somewhat desultory, proves that cavalry, greedy of yielding to no one its place on the field of battle, watches for occasion to employ itself in the best way possible.

To still further accentuate this tendency to play a rôle in spite of everything, the regulations add: "When the artillery has made a breach in the enemy's lines, the cavalry penetrates there in mass to complete the opening of a way for the infantry and to participate with it in the decisive attack" (§461, last line, page 23).

Frankly, our opinions are not altogether correctly expressed in the preceding cavalry instructions. Escorting assaulting columns, rushing forward on a glacié of Saint Privat or debouching in the very front of battle, to be engulfed in a ravine even against enemy's lines disrupted by a breach.

No; a thousand times no! At the present time cavalry is incapable of such efforts for it can oppose to the enemy's fire only the legs of its horses. Rapidity and shock properly belong to it, but not fire. As soon as it decides to act by fire it ties itself down, loses movement and rapidity of shock.

The whole problem consists then in preserving freedom of movement, this rapidity, this shock, and yet add to it the power of fire.

The only solution will be realized by cavalry cannon becoming one with it, joined henceforth as two inseparable elements; the horses representing rapidity and shock; the artillery giving birth to the power of fire.

Even the essence of cavalry will find itself profoundly modified and its sphere of action singularly increased. Cavalry will no longer understand itself without its cannon, an integrant portion of itself. I dare not say the most precious, but in any case that which assures its emancipation and its complete autonomy.

Evidently this fire will never have either the violence or effectiveness of the storm of bullets delivered by great masses

of infantry, calm and firing well, but it will show itself of equal worth, even preponderating, against bodies of troops small in number or mediocre in quality; against those already shaken or surprised, so that these attacks of cavalry, very uncertain to-day, will almost always end in success.

On the field of battle the rôle of cavalry can then be no longer neglected.

It is the cavalry that will harass the advance guards; will oblige them to halt frequently; will wear them out in premature deployments. It, and no longer the infantry, will reconnoiter advance posts by its fire; will feel all along the enemy's line; will seek the extreme flanks. It will, in fact, truly hold the whole terrain while the large infantry columns are still moving up at a great distance.

Far from stealing away as it does to-day and from uncovering the front of combat before a few slender lines of skirmishes, the cavalry will at first occupy the front, forcing the adversary's deployment, thrusting itself into the first alinement of the enemy, still fragile and disconnected, disputing the way or seizing the various points of support, containing and rolling back the opposing squadrons engaged in similar enterprises. The timid and languishing combat of advance guards in which infantry and artillery only figure at present, will be transformed into a combat of the three arms; will assume an entirely different character, full of life and movement.

Cavalry, which formerly will have found a way to disembarass itself of its congener, will then play more brilliant rôles; audacious, conducted with skill, by its rapidity and its fire, it will relieve the battalions of the advance guard of more than one perilous adventure, will come usefully to their aid, and that up to the very moment in which the great units, drawing near each other, engage in the action.

From that moment the cavalry must leave the field free to the hurricane of bullets and projectiles which are about to plow, search and indent the smallest corners of the terrain.

With their high profile, mounted troops could not move here without immediate annihilation.

During these violent hours which prepare the final crisis, the cavalry will give its attention to watching the vicinity—the flanks, the rear and around the flanks of the enemy's position.

But as soon as the moment for delivering the final blow approaches, it will reappear in the struggle and truly make real

the words of the regulations: "When artillery has made a breach in the enemy's lines, the cavalry will penetrate there in mass to finish the work of opening a passage for the infantry and participate with it in the decisive attack." (Last line §461, p. 23.)

What had been until then only a utopian dream of despair, will become something feasible; on all parts of the adversary's front, attenuated by a long combat, overthrown by field-artillery and supplied after the loss with insufficient reserves, the cavalry, aided by its cannon, will increase the last last breach with its fire, its rapidity and its shock.

Associated with the attacking columns and marching in their shadow it will arrest the élan of contour attacks; sheltered near the point from which will be delivered the final *mêlée*, it will sustain the counter attacks directed against the assaulting columns. Wherever the enemy has struggled and suffered, wherever in the supreme crisis the formations in depth have disappeared and have been used to increase the line of fire, cavalry will find its use and almost always success; and that especially against victorious troops, troubled by the victory itself.

Let one recall the concentric attack of the Prussians on "Chulm," the extreme confusion into which their own élan threw them, the eddying of these conquerors upon themselves in such disorder that two days were necessary to re-establish the units; let one recall the many celebrated attacks which remained decisive only because no effort has come to trouble greatly the phalanx of the assailants, its taking its always disordered possession; let one recall the lessons of the past and let anyone deny their import.

In the last stages of the struggle when the two adversaries have fought each other to a standstill a happy counter attack may snatch victory from defeat.

Made in conjunction with cavalry, this will constitute the new counter attack, reinforced by a new factor—rapidity and shock. Thanks to its cannon the cavalry will then have upon the field of battle resumed its former rôle, and as all cavalrymen desire re-establish its broken tradition.

All this is not written for the vain pleasure of sketching with knack an unpublished tactics for an arm not yet invented. All this merely indicates toward what conception it is necessary to reach out; a conception which is not at all a dream, but which corresponds to the existing perplexities of artillery and cavalry

and that a not distant future will surely see realized among others if we do not hasten to forestall them.

If cavalry does not wish to remain indefinitely confined to distant, secondary service; if it truly aspires to become again an instrument of war, to resume on the field of battle its rôle of shock and dismay, with the magnificent assurance of the squadrons led by Murat, Lasalle and Mansouty, that depends only on itself.

It is necessary for it to shake off its passiveness; to no longer allow itself to be overawed (eyes closed, without saying anything) by hybrid solutions, and not to accept what is offered it for want of better under pretext of details, not to the point, of theoretical discussions between technists.

Let the cavalryman speak the word, raise his voice and say without circumlocution: "Here is the cannon that we must have in order to live again and to fight."

In the place of awaiting the suggestion, let the cavalry take the initiative; let it lay down the precise basis of the problem; let it demand its cannon with a hue and cry; let it be stubborn, not yielding before any objection, not allowing any relaxation.

Constructors have solved other problems just as difficult, if not more so. Again the artillery will find the new cannon when it wishes; to-day it can do it, and it must.

By all evidence this new cannon will not break the net of death that at the greatest distances rapid fire field-artillery spreads on every massive or too visible formation. Certainly it would be no better before walls and villages, siege guns. Cavalry cannon will not be able to fight against guns of heavy caliber at 3000 or 4000 meters. Its ambition will never be to renew the dangerous experiences of mitrailleuse against the Krupp in 1870.

As the regulations say—cavalry does not wish more than to be able to exercise an efficacious action against columns of all arms and for that to possess a cannon capable, if occasion demands it, to hold under a dense sheaf of shrapnel fire the opposing artillery; a cannon especially capable at the decisive distances of infantry to take its serious part in the combat in close union with the cavalry. To be rational and fruitful, this intervention of the two united arms, be it understood, is to be submissive to the rules of surprise and of prolonged defilade up to the last moment; to the rules of prudence in the attack against an enemy insufficiently shaken, for the new cannon will not diminish by a

line in favor of cavalymen, their dangerous zone under the enemy's trajectories.

As to the reasoning according to which it would be necessary for cavalry to have cannon of rather heavy caliber, because in certain cases light batteries would be ineffective, may we be allowed to take no account. We admit that at a given moment, the cavalry may receive a mission in which their batteries risk showing themselves insufficient. Add to it then for that day, and for that day only, some excellent marchers—companies of cyclists, some field-batteries, a few batteries of horse-artillery 75 m.m. if you have them, but do not sacrifice the whole for a part; do not generalize an exception. You do not promenade the Place de l' Opera wearing a life-preserver through fear of a sudden overflow of the Seine.

Among the mental reservations with which the adversaries of the small caliber for cavalry batteries may inspire themselves there is the last one, the more dangerous because less openly expressed: that of utilizing on the field of battle cavalry batteries as ordinary batteries, to take away from the independent divisions, especially from the corps brigades to increase the line of fire. With a very small caliber this reinforcement becomes impossible, the cavalry batteries must not depart too far from the type adopted for field pieces.

Th nonsense of such an argument would scarcely find its excuse in the most incomprehensible economy. Shall we be reduced by it to the point of not being able to increase our field-batteries a few units if necessary; to not being able to leave to each army corps one or two groups of rapid fire and horse-artillery while at the same time furnishing the cavalry suitably with new cannon? Through the discussions, the real difficulties which it would be childish to deny, a solution is imposed soon. But whatever may be this solution, have pity on the cavalry. For heaven's sake, give it its wings and do not bind it to masses of steel.



MEMORANDUM OF OPERATIONS OF SUBSISTENCE
DEPARTMENT IN ALEXANDRIA, VA., AND
VICINITY—1861-65.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE BELL, UNITED STATES ARMY,
LATE ASST. COMMISSARY GENERAL.



THE accumulation of troops at the beginning of and during the continuance of the War of the Rebellion necessitated the establishment of depots of supplies. Some were of large capacity, and many others of smaller capacity were in vicinity of camps for convenience. In Washington, D. C., in the basement of the Capitol, were built ovens for baking bread. The General Post-Office building, not yet completed, was used as a storehouse for subsistence supplies, together with large buildings at G Street, and 6th Street, N. W. Wharves were also used as storehouses. Early in 1861 a square of ground between 24th and 25th Streets, and G and H Streets, N. W., was taken for constructing bake-ovens capable of baking, daily, not less than 100,000 rations of bread.

The system, method and modes of supplying all the troops were planned and inaugurated successfully by the late Gen. Amos Beckwith, of the Subsistence Department, one of the ablest men in the army, noted for his energy, resourcefulness and extraordinary ability. The system adopted by him was found well suited to its purposes and by contraction or expansion successfully met all demands in all times. He left Washington, D. C., November, 1863, and the supplying of the united armies of about 280,000 or 290,000 men at the review in that city, in 1865, was accomplished by this method with ease and satisfaction. He extended his plans to Alexandria and the surrounding country. Early in 1861 he took possession of the U. S. Custom-House in Alexandria, Va., filled its basement with ovens which for a time met ordinary calls. At Fort Runyon, Va., he established bakeries capable of turning out about 20,000 rations of bread daily, and he also constructed large store-houses.

Early in 1861 I took charge of the Alexandria Subsistence Depot, then a few store-houses. I expanded it until it occupied nearly every building on the Potomac River between the Orange

and Alexandria Railroad wharf and the Pioneer Mills—a distance of about a quarter of a mile. At one time 20,000,000 lbs. of hard bread were stored there and large quantities of the other articles of the ration. In the suburbs of the town I built a number of ovens capable of turning out daily over 120,000 rations of bread. When the Army of the Potomac landed at Acquia Creek, after the Battle of Malvern Hill, it was often taxed to its full capacity. A line of daily bread boats ran as regularly as the daily mail and took from Alexandria, Va., 100,000 rations of fresh bread to Acquia Creek and thence by rail to the troops in front of Fredericksburg. The bread was loaded on cars at the ovens, taken to the boats on the wharf by rail and from there down the river to Acquia Creek. From there quantities of supplies were distributed to the troops in the field near the Confederate Army, and when the command of General Grant was assembled the supplies for that army came from Alexandria. Shortly before the movement which resulted in the Battle of the Wilderness the late Gen. Thomas Wilson, Chief Commissary of Subsistence of the Army of the Potomac, with General Grant, concluded that 6500 head of beef cattle must be sent to Brandy Station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, within six days, in addition to those the troops had in their possession. At that time I had control of both depots at Alexandria and Washington. Large numbers of beef cattle were kept in the counties of Maryland and fed on forage purchasable there. Including Grant's army about 200,000 men had to be supplied. I obtained control of all freight trains on the Baltimore and Ohio and Baltimore and Potomac Railroads and sent officers West with funds to purchase and ship beef cattle at once. By depleting my supply of beef cattle in Maryland, and by this method of purchase, the 6500 head of beef cattle reached by rail Brandy Station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, near Grant's command, nine days from the time they were ordered and two days before the army commenced its march. For some time nearly the whole of Grant's command received their supplies from Alexandria, Va. Very often they could be reached by the James River.

For some time an uneasiness existed with regard to obtaining all the supplies desired in consequence of the uncertain condition of the North. With the permission of the head of the department I stored 50,000 bbls. of pork at 6th Street wharf, Washington, the cost at the time of purchase being about \$13.85 per barrel. Before the pork had been used the market

price was \$17.50 or \$18.00 per barrel. The object was to hold in reserve rations for 200,000 men for several months, for any emergency.

In addition to the duties at the Alexandria depot, large numbers of newly-appointed commissaries of volunteers were directed to report to me for instruction. They were placed first in receiving stores, making out returns, abstracts and all papers required by brigade commissaries. They were not regarded as fit for duty until all the requirements of a brigade commissary were thoroughly familiar to them. They assumed their duties with a confidence and success which showed the benefits of the information they had acquired.

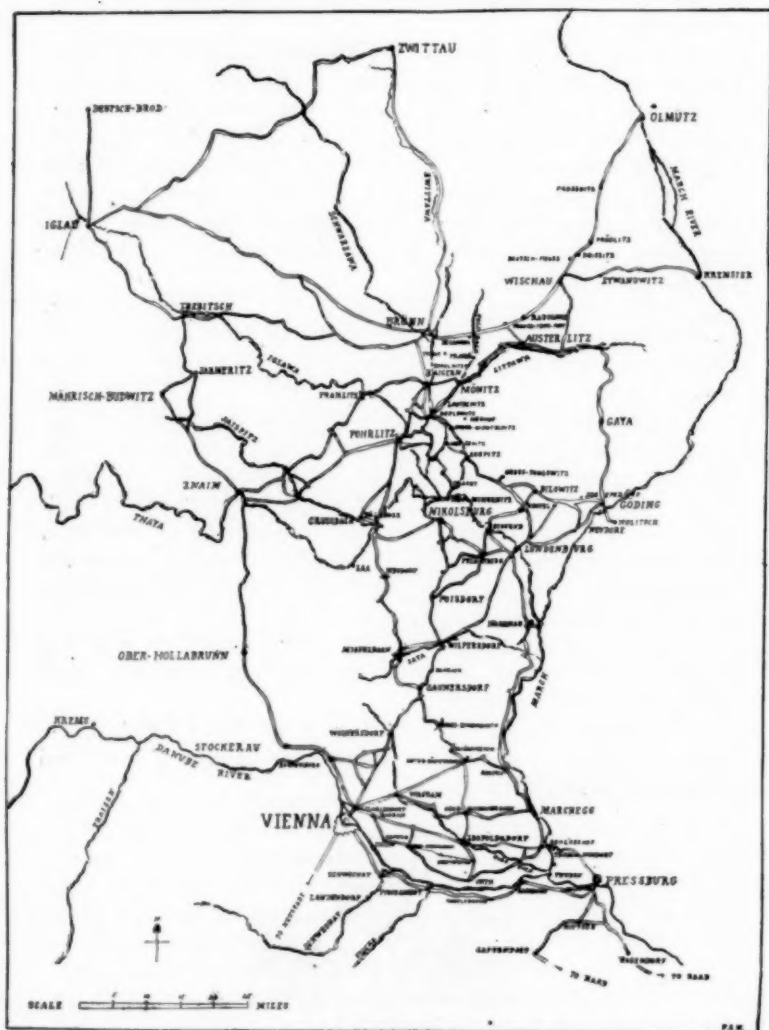
During the entire administration of Gen. Joseph P. Taylor, Commissary General, so ably supported by Gen. Alexander E. Shiras, the officer in charge of these depots received that liberty and free support that always caused success.

To meet the necessary demands for fresh beef from the block I constructed a number of slaughter-houses on the banks of the Potomac, below Alexandria and above the lighthouse on Hunter's Point. At the main depot of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, a very large Soldiers' Rest was built capable of feeding at one time a regiment of troops. It was almost equal in equipment and neatness of service to a substantial hotel. The attendants were colored men neatly aproned in white.

I regret that my inability to read prevents me from referring in detail to memoranda and notes, and also that it deprives me of giving dates and quantities.

A hospital was also connected with the depot for those requiring medical attention. Those employees requiring it received attention free of all charge.





MORAVIA—MARCH OF FRIANT'S DIVISION, 1805.

AUSTERLITZ: A MOST REMARKABLE FORCED MARCH.*

FROM ORIGINAL UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN THE FRENCH WAR
OFFICE.

BY FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

II.



HE gallant rôles played by these heroic troops at the battle of Austerlitz is thus told in the march journals of the two divisions.

SECOND DIVISION.

The Second Division moved to Turas and thence on Sokolnitz.† General Heudelet commanded the advance guard, composed of the 108th, and the voltigeurs of the Fifteenth. The Fifteenth and Thirty-third formed the First Brigade; the Forty-eighth and the 111th the Second.

When the advanced-guard reached the battle-field, Marshal Soult's left was attacked by more than 25,000 Russians (the Russians say 40,000) whose object was to direct themselves to this side so as to cut off our retreat on Vienna. It disengaged the Third of the line which, notwithstanding prodigies of valor, was on the point of being crushed. The village of Sokolnitz was soon carried, but we could not maintain ourselves there. The retreat of the Twenty-sixth Light Infantry, which had also suffered greatly and which had leaned largely on its left, gave an opening for the Russians, who threw themselves into it in great numbers. The village had to be abandoned in order not to be cut off. We fell back in order onto the plateau between Turas and Sokolnitz, where the division arrived which was soon attacked with great impetuosity, outflanked on its left and almost entirely surrounded. It fought with as much bravery as *sang-froid*, changing front as if on a day of parade, and it succeeded by the skilfulness of its maneuvers in containing the multitude of the enemy by which it was pressed. At last it was perceived that the enemy was growing somewhat weaker; little by little we gained ground. The Russians are compelled to recross the brook. A charge was made against the village of Sokolnitz. The Fifteenth did prodigies; it attacked the enemy with bayonet. The place was littered with dead; several pieces of cannon were captured. It is 1 o'clock.

From there we moved on Telnitz which we turned by the right while Marshal Soult attacked it in front. The village was carried; the Cossacks fled and crossed through Mönitz. The infantry retires onto the plateau, which is covered with vines, to the left of Mönitz. Our infantry is already in that village and cuts off its retreat. It ascended on to the

*Continued from July number.

†“I have the honor to report to Your Majesty that on the 11th (Frimaire), between 5.30 and 6 o'clock, I made Friant's division leave the Abbey of Raigern.”—Davout's report to the Emperor, 5th Nivose (Dec. 26th).

plateau, threw the enemy back into the ponds, while Marshal Soult's army surrounded it on the other side. Two platoons wish to cross over on the ice and are drowned; the rest are taken prisoners. The enemy had abandoned along the Telnitz brook several more pieces of cannon. After the battle the Second Division crossed Mönitz and moved in the direction of NeuhoF.*

The desperation of the fighting may be judged by the fact that *General Friant had no less than four horses killed under him, while General Lochet (Second brigade), lost two and Generals Kister (First Brigade), and Heudelet (advanced-guard), one apiece, and their uniforms were shot into rags. Out of 3570 officers and men the division lost exactly 1400, or nearly forty per cent. of its actual numbers. Seventeen officers were killed and fifty-seven wounded; 207 soldiers lay dead on the field, 963 were wounded and 157 were captured but, on the other hand, more than 1000 prisoners, twenty guns and five colors were taken from the enemy.*†

Friant's movements were ably seconded by the Fourth Division of Dragoons:

The division of dragoons under the command of General Bourcier was put at the disposal of Marshal Davout.

During the battle it constantly supported the right of the Second Division (and was) exposed to the guns of the enemy which caused it losses in men and horses. Several times it charged the Russian infantry, which tried to cross the brook on the right of Sokolnitz, and always made it recross with loss, retiring then in echelons and with a great deal of order. Finally it served as a supporting point to the division which, surrounded on all other sides, would probably have succumbed had it not found this point free, by which it profited to make its movements and changes of front.‡

In the rear of Friant and Bourcier was the First Division of Dragoons, which reached Raigern, but through fortuitous circumstances was unable to take part in the battle, much to its chagrin. Its operations that day are thus related:

"11th (Frimaire).

The division began its movement [from Nikolsburg] at 6 o'clock in the morning. After two hours' marching the general received by the staff-officer, who had been sent to the Major-General on the night of the

*Tableau synoptique des Marches du 3e Corps. NeuhoF is about five miles cross-country from Mönitz.

†Davout's reports of Dec. 26th to the Emperor and Dec. — to Berthier; Friant's report of Dec. 3d to Davout; and Friant, p. 101.

‡Journal des Marches de la 4e division de dragons. This division lost thirty-five men killed and forty-one wounded, sixty-five horses killed and thirty-five wounded.—Bourcier's report to Davout, Dec. 5th.

8th-9th, the order to proceed to the Abbey of Raigern. At noon the Second, Fourteenth and Twenty-sixth Regiments, with the artillery, reached their destination * and deployed in the plain near the village.

The First Regiment, which was detached with the division of General Friant, continued to form part of it on that day and took part with it in the celebrated battle of Austerlitz, where it executed several charges against the Russian artillery and infantry with great bravery, which merited for it the praises of Generals Bourcier and Heudelet, under whose command it fought. Its loss was twelve men wounded, eight horses killed and seven wounded.

The general of division had again despatched an officer to the Major-General to announce to him his arrival at Raigern. This officer traversed the entire battle-field without being able to meet him, and could not return until evening. Immediately after our arrival at Raigern, Marshal Davout, who feared being forced by his right, had General Klein told not to leave his position and to observe his right side carefully. He even sent to this point the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Dragoons, which formed itself on the left and on the right of the division.

The victory won by the French army having put the combined Austrian and Russian armies to flight, the First Division of Dragoons received from the Major-General the order to pursue the remains of a column which was directing itself toward Hungary. General Klein therefore ordered them to hold themselves in readiness to start very early next morning so as to pursue the enemy and to fight him.†

It was most unfortunate that Daultanne's orders‡ did not reach the Third Division and the light cavalry at Pressburg until November 30th and that, by reason of their having to traverse a greater distance even than Friant, they were unable to arrive in time to participate in the battle, for on the 2d they made a march shorter only than the distance covered by the Second Division on the first day. The account of their advance from Gaunersdorf is thus given:

"THIRD DIVISION

Began its march and reached Nikolsburg.§ It took position in advance of that town. It was to contain the enemy if he attempted to move onto the road to Vienna. Seeing that he did not dream of turning our army from such a distance, it moved forward to the village of Tracht,¶ from which it was in better position to watch the enemy's movements and to prevent his crossing the Thaya, which was perhaps possible.

The Third Division arrived at Nikolsburg on the second day of marching and was moved next day through Tracht (to) Gross-Niemtschitz, between Laueritz [i.e. Auerschitz] and the large lake, which it was able

*Twenty-five miles from Nikolsburg.

†*Marches et Rapports historiques du la 1ere Division de Dragons Montés.*

‡*Supra*, Journal of the Military Service Institution for July-August, 1906, p. 43.

§Twenty-eight miles from Gaunersdorf.

¶Ten miles from Nikolsburg.

to do in seven or eight hours of marching.* It could have captured all the Cossacks and the infantry which escaped through there and retired on Auspitz. It could risk this movement all the more in that it was supported by a division of light cavalry and a division of dragoons which could serve to clear its march for a long distance ahead. (In order to reach Nikolsburg on the second day of march, it had to cover as much ground on the first two days marching as it did on the third day, the day of the battle.)"

Austerlitz, the most decisive battle of modern times, tended in the complete annihilation and rout of the Allied army, the bulk of which retreated toward Göding and Gaya instead of toward Olmütz, as was first supposed in Napoleon's headquarters. On the morning of the 3d, a general pursuit was ordered and the forces under Marshal Davout's command moved south and east toward the March at Göding. The advance of the Third Corps was headed by Klein from Raigern and Bourcier from Gross-Seelowitz, the former reaching Auspitz (twenty miles) and the latter Bilowitz (nineteen miles) during the course of the day. *Friant's division had remained on the battle-field until 8 o'clock on the evening of the 2d and during the night had moved five miles to Neuhoft, where it was given a rest of fourteen hours only, even after marching eighty-eight miles and fighting as it had done; but at 9 o'clock on the evening of the 3rd it was again put in movement and marched for thirteen miles over execrable roads in the dead of night, reaching its destination at Gross-Pawlowitz just four hours after leaving its bivouac. Gudin's division and Viallanes' cavalry were on the move from Tracht and Nikolsburg before dawn on the 3d and advanced to Gross-*

*Twenty-one miles from Nikolsburg to Gross-Niemtschitz. The following report was sent to Marshal Davout by the commander of the Third Division:

"Nikolsburg the 12th (December 3d) at 4 o'clock in the morning.

"MONSIEUR: Conformably to the orders which you sent me this night I am going to begin my march so as to move on Auspitz, crossing the Thaya at Tracht.

"Since I had a squadron of the First Regiment of Chasseurs at Voitsbrunn, I had it pushed on Lundenburg, which was occupied yesterday by more than 800 of the enemy's horse. If the commander of this squadron can get past Lundenburg he has been ordered to send parties on Göding and on Auspitz to join me at this first point and to give me news of the enemy's march.

"I am, with respect,

"General of Division,

"C. GUDIN."

†"I have fought thirty battles like this one, but I have never seen one in which the victory was so decided and the results so little in doubt."—Napoleon in the 31e Bulletin de la Grande Armée, dated Austerlitz, Dec. 5th. Napoleon, Corresp., No. 9546.

‡Berthier, No. 524, p. 359; Napoleon Corresp., No. 9536.

§Friant, p. 101.

Niemtschitz, the leading troops being pushed beyond in order to establish communication with Friant's right, but at 10 o'clock they were compelled to march another fourteen miles during the course of the night and did not reach Bilowitz until 3 o'clock on the morning of the 4th.*

Only five hours later, on the morning of December 4th, the Third Corps was again on the march toward Göding, the head of the column being formed by Klein's dragoons from Kostel and Bilowitz, followed by Gudin and Viallanes from the latter village, Bourcier's dragoons from Auspitz and Friant from Pawlowitz. Upon reaching Josefsdorf (eleven miles from Pawlowitz), the troops were deployed and dispositions made to attack the Allied forces in the plain between that hamlet and the March at Göding, when the Austrian Colonel, Count Walmoden, appeared with a flag of truce and a letter from General Count Merveldt announcing that, as the French and Austrian Emperors were in conference, a truce, beginning at 6 o'clock that morning, had been agreed upon. Davout refused to believe him except upon a written assurance from the Tsar and, after considerable

*THIRD CORPS.

Headquarters, Auspitz.

First Division

Moved on Wischau. The troops were divided in the following manner: the Thirteenth at Krzeczkwitz; the Seventeenth at Bründlitz; the Thirtieth at Nosalowitz; the Fifty-first at Lultsch; the Sixty-first at Rosternitz; the artillery at Nels on the main road near Wischau. The front of the villages was reconnoitered with care. Headquarters at ———.

Second Division.

During the night of the 11th to the 12th the division took position on the road from Nikolsburg through Austerlitz to Olmütz, its left resting on the lake, Neuhof and a large brook along its front, its right prolonged toward Krepitz [two miles east of Gross-Niemtschitz].

It occupied a plateau covered with vines and crowned with woods. At 9 o'clock in the evening it left and arrived at Pawlowitz at 1 o'clock on the morning of the 13th.

Headquarters at Laueritz [i. e. Auerschitz].

Third Division

Took position at Gross-Niemtschitz and established its bivouac around that village.

It started at 10 o'clock in the evening to move to Bilowitz, where it arrived on the 13th at 3 o'clock in the morning.

Headquarters at Gross-Niemtschitz.

Light Cavalry

Followed the movement of the Third Division and reached Bilowitz.

Heavy Cavalry.

Bourcier's division moved to Auspitz and sent a detachment of 500 horses along the road to Göding.

Klein's division is in the direction of Kostel, and between that town and Bilowitz.

Reserve Park

At Nikolsburg.

Tableau synoptique des Marches du 3e Corps. Also Friant, pp. 101-102.

delay, this note was transmitted to the Marshal, written in pencil and signed by Alexander himself. Davout had no other alternative than to place credence in the word of the Russian sovereign,* and the advance of the Third Corps was accordingly suspended.†

*Davout's report of Dec. 4th to Berthier, enclosing the letters of Merveldt Kutusoff and the Tsar. Davout, Corresp., No. 124, I, pp. 195-198.

†THIRD CORPS.

Headquarters, Josefsdorf.

First Division. Rest near Wischau.

Second Division

Was quartered and bivouacked for a moment at Pawlowitz and in its environs. At 8 o'clock in the morning it began its march so as to move to Bilowitz. It followed immediately after General Rourcier's cavalry. It had joined its right to the Third Division, which was not at the battle of Austerlitz and which burned with the desire to come to blows with the enemy.

A regiment was left behind to rally the stragglers.

From Bilowitz it marched on Josefsdorf and it was deployed for battle behind this village when they came to announce the armistice to it.

It bivouacked in the same position, its right prolonged to Neudorf, its left on Pruschanek brook and Josefsdorf on its front.

Headquarters at Josefsdorf.

Third Division

Marched immediately after Klein's division.

It debouched in column from the village of Josefsdorf and deployed for battle on the left of the cavalry, its left resting on the ravine in which the Pruschanek brook flows (and) its artillery along its front. The enemy was ranged in order of battle half a league beyond Josefsdorf, near Göding.

Dispositions were made to attack him and to overthrow his cavalry, which was in the plain between Josefsdorf and Göding, when General Merveldt came to announce the armistice.

The Third Division crossed over to the left bank of the brook and took position on the left of Josefsdorf and slightly in advance of this village on a hillock crowned with woods.

A detachment was sent into the village of Mutenitz to support the dragoons which had been charged to reconnoiter this point.

Headquarters to the left of Josefsdorf.

Light Cavalry.

The Light Cavalry held the right and marched at the head of Klein's division, but by virtue of the various maneuvers concerted with a view to surrounding the enemy, it found itself in the plain beyond Pruschanek drawn up for battle on the left of Klein's division.

The skirmishers had driven back the enemy's outposts, whose retreat was made in very good order and by echelons.

It was with a great deal of difficulty that some firm places where the horses could pass were found in this marshy ground. These kinds of defiles, which had to be passed through, greatly facilitated the retreat of the enemy's outposts.

Near Josefsdorf the ground was better, although the horses still sank very deeply.

In the evening the Light Cavalry went to bivouac in the neighborhood of Neudorf with Klein's division.

Headquarters at Neudorf.

Heavy Cavalry.

Klein's division at Neuhof.

Bourcier's Division.

Bourcier's division was in second line and marched after Klein's division. It had not yet crossed the defiles between the swampy water when they came

As a matter of fact the actual cessation of hostilities between the French and the Russians was not agreed upon until the following day, so that the Tsar told a deliberate falsehood in order to avoid being taken prisoner and was thus enabled to make his escape to Holitsch, on the opposite bank of the March.*

At Josefsdorf the movements of Friant's division came to an end† and surely no troops have ever better earned their rest. *In less than five days they had marched fully 112 miles* and had covered themselves with glory by their splendid fighting at Austerlitz. Their operations for those five days may thus be summarized:

From Nov. 29th, 9 P. M., to Nov. 30th, 9 P. M.....	53 miles
From Nov. 30th, 9 P. M., to Dec. 1st, 7 P. M.....	25 "
December 2d, from 6 to 8 A. M.....	5 "
December 2d, 8 A. M. to 5 P. M., the battle of Austerlitz.....	"
Night of December 2d-3d.....	5 "
December 3d., until 9 P. M.....	Rest.
December 3d, 9 P. M. to Dec. 4th, 1 A. M.....	13 "
December 4th, 8 A. M., until afternoon.....	11 "
Total in less than five days.....	112 miles.

The seventy-eight miles covered in the forty-six hours between 9 o'clock on the evening of November 29th, and 7 o'clock on the evening of December 1st, is a feat little short of marvelous for any infantrymen, and it must be remembered that each man carried rations for three days and sixty cartridges. The French peasant is a great walker and has consequently always made a great marcher, and Napoleon possessed the power of making his soldiers accomplish "the impossible." To be sure, the "Army of Austerlitz" was in his estimation superior to any other that he ever commanded,‡ and it is highly probable that a more perfect fighting machine never has existed.§ Truly the Emperor's confidence in the inflexible Davout and his splendid

to announce the armistice to it. It was ordered to move to Josefsdorf and it established its bivouac there.

Headquarters at Josefsdorf.

Reserve Park.

At Nikolsburg.

Tableau synoptique des Marches du 3e Corps.

*Chenier, *Histoire de la vie militaire, politique et administrative du Marechal Davout*, pp. 150-160; *Memoirs of the Baron de Ménéval*, I, pp. 401-403.

†Friant, p. 102.

‡"At Austerlitz the army was the most substantial one I ever had. The soldiers good, the battle superb."—Gourgaud, *Journal inédit de Sainte-Hélène*, II, p. 111.

§*Mémoires du Maréchal Marmont, Duc de Raguse*, II, pp. 302-303. Also Stephens, *Revolutionary Europe*, p. 242.

soldiers of the Third Corps—who vied with the Imperial Guard for the title of the “Tenth Legion of the modern Cæsar”—was fully justified, for never once did they fail him* and the victory which they won at Auerstädt (October 14, 1806), against the most overwhelming odds, was one of the most glorious achievements in all the remarkable Napoleonic wars. Always ready, always in prime condition, they responded with alacrity to the demands by which he taxed human strength and courage to the utmost limits that they may ever be expected to attain, and Austerlitz furnished the first instance which attracted the attention of military men to their feats. Nevertheless, *“this march is the proof of what can be done by infantry well led,”*† and the example set by Friant and his heroic troops may justly serve for the emulation of commanders of the future.

*In 1813, even before the wounds that he had received in the Russian campaign were fully healed, Friant assumed command of the Foot Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard, and was always the first to move and the first to reach his destination. This caused Napoleon to make frequent allusions to his extraordinary march from Leopoldsdorf to Raigern and to remark, “I do not know how Friant does it, but he knows how to give new legs to my ‘old grumblers.’”

†Bernard, *Art de la Guerre déduit de l'étude technique des campagnes*. Campagne de 1805, p. 169.



AN EARTHQUAKE CHRONICLE

II. FEEDING STRICKEN SAN FRANCISCO.

BY CAPTAIN FRANK D. ELY, U. S. ARMY,
GENERAL INSPECTOR, CONSOLIDATED RELIEF STATIONS,
ARMY RELIEF WORK.



WHEN the hand of misfortune smote the City of San Francisco at 5:13 A. M. on Wednesday, April 18, 1906, the city is estimated to have comprised fully half a million souls. As the benumbed survivors rose from the wreckage, thousands fled from the smoking ruins to the towns and cities across the bay, and northward and southward along the coast. The first thought of the terror-stricken was escape, and as the immense conflagration increased the horrors, so it increased their terror. Train after train laden with refugees steamed eastward from Oakland, and to all coast cities, north and south. In all, probably not over three hundred thousand people remained in San Francisco two weeks after the date of the disaster.

Ten minutes after the great earthquake not a pennyworth of food stores could be purchased anywhere throughout the stricken city. The meager supply of food in most households was consumed in a day. Meanwhile the conflagration raged, and consternation prevailed. Pandemonium let loose everywhere, while frightened children clung to pale mothers as frightened as themselves. Babies were born in the streets. One of the richest babies in San Francisco was born in a tent near the palatial residence of the frenzied parents. Surely that babe should prove a Spartan after thus struggling into a world roughly tumbled and shaken by an Almighty and Unseen Power, and consumed by living fire.

Under conditions like these all class distinctions vanished. All available food that could be rescued from the ravages of fire belonged to the hungry masses. Waste prevailed everywhere in shameless abandon. The usual sources of daily supply of all fresh and perishable foods were entirely cut off. Even the sick and the helpless were without succor. The situation was appalling.

Fortunately several army posts, all garrisoned by Regular troops, lay in and about the city. San Francisco was the headquarters of the Department of California, and also of the Pacific Division. The Division Commander, Maj.-Gen. A. W. Greely, famous in Polar explorations, was absent from the city prior to the disaster on a leave of absence; the Department Commander, General Funston, being in temporary command. The latter promptly tendered the services of the United States troops to the mayor for duty in preserving order and preventing looting, which offer was as promptly accepted. All good citizens viewed with extreme satisfaction the appearance of armed soldiers in the streets. Saloons had been ordered closed, and withal the appearance of troops on duty carried quite the moral effect of martial law. Food stores were guarded, and made available to all the hungry alike, rich and poor, weak or strong, yellow, black or white. The mayor ordered that looters be shot down when caught in the act of looting. Transportation was at a standstill, not a car running. All lines of communication were down. Early reports to the East were meager, and the nearest cities of any considerable size were Portland, Salt Lake and Los Angeles, and these each many hundred miles away. And meanwhile San Francisco, the ghost of her former proud, rich and lovely self, was crying for bread and facing starvation! It was a situation without a parallel in modern history. Meanwhile the American people were rapidly recovering from their dumb-founded amazement at the proportions of the catastrophe, and soon from every city, town and hamlet a flood of funds and provisions were being poured out for the homeless sufferers.

Bread-making was indulged in by many of California's fair women for the first time in many years, the capacity of the bakeries being unequal to the supply required. Trainload after trainload of provisions sped westward, northward and southward, all converging toward the starving city. The distances to be covered were magnificent, yet the wail of the suffering city resounded in every ear throughout the land.

The Congress responded promptly by appropriating a million dollars, later increasing the amount to two and a half millions. New York and Boston contributed their millions, while Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Cleveland and hundreds upon hundreds of lesser cities followed their example in proportion to their means. Soon there began to arrive in Oakland trainload upon trainload of stores, shipped in

special express trains at better than fast mail speed, and passing Ogden at the rate of a train per hour. Fortunately many of San Francisco's wharves were practically undamaged, and the shipping uninjured. Practically the only way the stores could be moved on reaching San Francisco was by army wagons, of which the number was limited. Under these conditions, impressment followed whenever and wherever a wagon, truck, carriage or automobile was discovered in good working order. While many men were by force compelled to work in the streets clearing away debris, and thus rendering them passable, others were forced to perform duty as stevedores, freight hustlers and truckmen in order that the city might have food.

Meanwhile, General Greely had returned and assumed command of the United States troops.

So much general abuse and misappropriation of supplies existed openly on every hand, while the police force was so entirely inadequate, that the army was asked to assume the duty of distributing the relief stores. The troops had performed almost constant duty for nearly two weeks, and were utterly worn out. General Greely called for more troops, and while the number he called for could not be spared, two additional regiments, one of infantry and one of cavalry, were ordered to San Francisco for duty. Also, there were ordered by the Secretary of War, by telegraph, to report to General Greely for duty in conducting relief work, forty-five specially selected officers of experience and of proved administrative ability, all to proceed to San Francisco and report without delay. The orders were sent out from Washington late on April 30th, and received late that night, or on May 1st, and on May 2d the first arrivals reached San Francisco and reported at Division Headquarters, about sundown.

Next morning the work of supplying over a quarter of a million people began in earnest. With scanty and broken-down transportation, telephone and telegraph lines down, with an insufficient force of troops to guard all points at which guards were needed, the problem seemed staggering; yet it had to be solved, and that quickly.

A Headquarters Bureau of Consolidated Relief Stations was established in the Hamilton school building, at Geary and Scott Streets, in the very heart of the city, and Colonel Lea Febiger, United States Army, appointed chief of bureau. A working staff was hurriedly organized, and the entire city having been

divided into seven (7) relief sections, each relief section was placed under charge of an army officer, who was designated as chief of section, and who was, in every section, assisted by several junior officers. Relief stations were established wherever found desirable at points within the territorial limits of each section, and such relief stations placed in charge of a paid civilian, recommended by well-known citizens as trustworthy. Each of these civilians made requisition upon his chief of section for the number of rations, estimated from the best obtainable information, required to feed all destitute within the limits prescribed to be covered by his relief station. Chiefs of sections forwarded all approved requisitions to the headquarters bureau, from whence, after approval, they were returned to chiefs of sections to be presented at the temporary storehouses which had been established. A wagon train had been previously assigned to each section and after the first day requisitions for any day were required to be at headquarters by 11:00 A. M. of the day preceding that for which the stores were requisitioned. Many minor aggravations and delays were necessarily encountered, but the work progressed rapidly and successfully.

On the first day, May 3d, 279,631 rations were issued, and the lowest number issued during any one day of the first week was 222,313, the average number of rations issued daily for the week having been 245,379.

Soldiers in uniform were posted at all relief stations during hours when issues were being made to count and record the number of applicants for food, this record serving as a basis for the next day's requisitions. It was found that many who were not needy were presenting themselves at the relief stations and drawing food, and these were rapidly eliminated.

During this stage work was not plentiful, and few employers could pay their employees daily. Money was scarce and hard to get; credit for the purchase of food supplies in the retail stores, constantly being opened, did not exist. Cash on the spot was demanded and obtained, or the sale was off. The great question was to provide only for those without funds, eliminating all who were possessed of means to support themselves.

Officers on duty in the seven relief sections had by the end of the sixth day reported over four hundred food stores open and doing business. On May 16th the reports showed eight hundred and sixty-three stores open. This controverted the state-

ment so frequently met, that stores, that is, food, could not be purchased.

The above number of food shops comprised grocery stores, butcher shops, vegetable and fruit stands or stores, fish stands, bakeries and milk depots. Besides, the number of shops being opened daily was on the increase, and it was evident from the start that by "repeating" and by stealing and otherwise diverting food, the business of the retail dealers was being ruined, and money thus held from being legitimately and properly placed in circulation.

On May 9th General Greely ordered that the food issued consist only of bread, vegetables and meat, and the latter only when on hand; meat never to be purchased specially for gratuitous issue. This had such good effect that the following day orders were issued that after May 12th issues of free food at the relief stations would be made only three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, on which days a single ration only would be issued to each destitute person. It was arranged further that on the alternate days an official would be at each relief station to consider and provide for any exceptional cases which should prove, on investigation, to be *bona fide* cases of hunger and need.

Meanwhile Colonel Febiger had been working away to get authority to put into operation a new scheme. He saw that with food being carted all over the city much of it became diverted from its proper destination and fell into the hands of thieves. He conceived the plan of entering into agreements with contractors to erect large open restaurants, or hot-food camps, which should be supplied with staples, etc., by the relief organizations, at prices to be agreed upon. The funds received from sales of such stores to be covered into the relief fund, to be drawn upon to redeem, at the rate of fifteen cents each, meal tickets issued free to the needy by the relief stations. Thus, the number of places at which stores were to be delivered would be reduced from hundreds to a comparatively small number. The meal tickets issued were to be good for one day only, and were to be changed from day to day in color, size and shape, or in some manner, to make them easily distinguishable. To further insure against fraud, it was arranged that the printing of meal tickets should be done on presses of the University of California, at Berkeley, across the bay. This plan possessed the further advantage of affording an opportunity to all who pos-

sessed a little money to purchase cooked food. This was a great item, for few chimneys were yet repaired and, as gas mains were broken, kitchen fires could not be lighted and consequently all cooking had to be done out of doors, or in tents or shanties hastily erected for that purpose. The opportunity was open to all capable contractors who could guarantee quick erection of open-air restaurants at their own expense, and who could pay cash for the relief stores drawn. As soon as a hot-food camp was opened in any relief section, issues of food were stopped and meal tickets issued.

The section of the city chosen for locating the first restaurant was that lying south of Market Street, and extending as far as 18th. Sites were secured and work started, but difficulties were everywhere encountered. Men could be secured more easily than lumber, fuel, cooking utensils, etc. Meanwhile a hot-food camp containing eight restaurants was located in Lobos Square, which was full of refugees, encamped. The first of these two restaurants was opened on May 12th, a third being in use on the evening of the same day, with kitchen ranges and tables complete in the other five, which were put in operation as needed. Work on other restaurants progressed as rapidly as lumber could be secured, and on Wednesday evening, May 16th, restaurants were in operation at Lobos Square, 18th Street and Dolores Ave., 8th and Brennan Streets, 2d and Harrison Streets, Spear and Folsom Streets, and at 20th and Kentucky. At the same time others were planned at numerous other locations, particularly in the southern part of the city, the sites of which were yet to be secured. The issues of raw foods had steadily fallen off until on May 18th rations for but 86,000 persons were required. This was on Friday, and the next day for issues was Tuesday, May 22d, the tri-weekly issue days having at this time been changed to Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. On May 22d the rations issued fell below 81,000 with less than 5,000 meals furnished at the restaurants, or hot food camps. On Wednesday noon, May 23d, the entire portion of the city east of Devisadero Street and north of 18th Street was provided with hot-food camps in actual operation, with the exception of the region around Duboce Park, where delay had occurred in the construction due to failure in delivering lumber for the camp. In consequence of the operation of hot-food camps, the number of relief stations was steadily reduced, until on Saturday, May 26th, only sixty-one relief stations remained in operation of the 177 such

stations which existed at the start. Ten hot-food camps were in operation over the city, while each of the three large refugee camps in Golden Gate Park opened early the following week.

At several other refugee camps community kitchens were being started and the issues of raw and canned goods stopped as rapidly as possible. On May 31st fourteen hot-food camps were in operation, and the total number of persons fed on that date had fallen to 41,236, who were issued uncooked rations, while 9159 free meal tickets were issued. As each free meal ticket was good for one meal only, the total number of persons so fed for that date was 3053, or a total number of 44,289 persons fed on May 31st as compared with 279,631 persons fed on May 3d. Prior to May 3d it was estimated that something over 300,000 rations were being issued daily.

Shortly after starting the hot-food camps, the price at which free meal tickets were to be redeemed was reduced from fifteen cents to ten cents. It was noted in every instance where issues of raw food were discontinued and free meal tickets issued in lieu thereof, that the number of applicants for meal tickets was but a small proportion of the number that had been applying for raw foods. This proved most conclusively that the number of persons actually destitute was far less than the number applying for free food. People abhor the idea of soup kitchens, and such the hot-food camps really were. The food served was plain, but substantial and well cooked. For breakfast, it consisted of mush, coffee, bread and a stew or steaks. Dinner consisted of a soup, a stew or roast beef, one vegetable, bread and tea or coffee. Supper included tea or coffee, bread and a stew or hash. These eating places were being constantly inspected by army officers, and cooking and sanitary conditions promptly reported upon, corrections being made wherever necessary.

The hot-food camps or soup kitchens had solved the food question for the destitute in San Francisco, just as Colonel Febiger had predicted. It had weeded out every grafter, and forced all such to contribute to the retail trade of the city, as they should do. It proved conclusively that the people were not helpless. At first men only were employed in the food camps, but these were gradually replaced largely by women, who were found better suited for serving and satisfying the needy women and children than were the men formerly employed.

The enormous daily expenditures for transportation to distribute food throughout the city were rapidly reduced from the

day the army took control; it was actually found that delays in transporting stores were at first occasioned by the fact that so many teams were massed around supply depots that they could not be properly moved. The discharge of many wagons actually facilitated deliveries.

When on May 2d the army took over the distribution of relief supplies it was unquestionably the one organization in position to handle the situation. No civil organization suited to the task was in existence in the city, and under the distressful conditions then prevailing none was possible of quick formation. Charities being quite generally organized along religious, racial, national or fraternal lines and usually for the particular purpose of caring for their own, in time of such extreme disaster when all are equally needy for the time being, much suspicion and distrust inevitably exists lest one sect, race or class be discriminated against in favor of another. At such times some strong, trustworthy organization having the confidence of the people and habitually working along other than charitable lines, while identified no more with one race, sect or class than with any other, is best qualified to perform relief work for the multitudes.

Such was the United States Army when in San Francisco during those memorable days following the disaster, Jews and gentiles, aristocrats and paupers, professional men and laborers, Christians and heathen, were alike hungry and suffering. The lesson taught must prove far reaching in its benefits.



A HIATUS OF MILITARY LAW.

LIEUTENANT MARR O'CONNOR, TENTH CAVALRY.



THE recent court-martial case of Sidney S. Burbank, a former officer of the army, and that of an officer for whom the writer was counsel, have suggested a rather nice question of law. Both these officers were charged with "embezzlement, in violation of the Sixty-second Article of War," the funds involved being in one case company funds, and in the other, post exchange funds.

Is there such an offense under our military law as "embezzlement, in violation of the Sixty-second Article of War"? Embezzlement is a specific statutory crime, unknown to the common law, and its definition and scope depend wholly upon statute—it is sometimes termed "statutory larceny." To be guilty of embezzlement it is necessary that a person charged therewith come within the provisions of the statute or statutes defining it. The statutes passed by the legislatures of our different States set forth the offenses constituting the crime of embezzlement, with minute particularity, the evident intention being to "let no guilty man escape." In consequence, such statutes are strictly construed by our civil courts, and it does not suffice that the offense of a person charged with embezzlement come within their spirit and intent—his acts must come within the exact letter of the law—that is, he must have violated one of the express provisions of the statute.

In our military law, the embezzlement statute, if it may be so termed, is the Sixtieth Article of War, which enumerates a number of the offenses which constitute the crime. These being excerpts from the Revised Statutes, are set forth in precise legal phraseology, but in no one of them is mention made of other than *public funds or property*. From this it is argued that only public funds or property can become the subjects of embezzlement.

It is a trite maxim of the law that it is irregular to charge an offense under an "omnibus" statute (such as the Sixty-second Article of War), which is embraced by the provisions of a special statute. Such a pleading would not stand for an instant

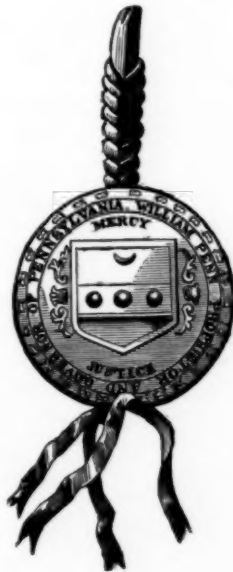
in a civil court. To find an accused person in the military service guilty of "embezzlement, in violation of the Sixty-second Article of War" is a palpable distortion of law—either a person is guilty of the embezzlements described in the Sixtieth Article of War, or he is not guilty of embezzlement. The phrase, "all other disorders and neglects," in the Sixty-second Article of War, may embrace common law crimes, such as larceny, but cannot be extended to include offenses the definition and punishment for which are the subjects of special and exact legislation. This would be clearly an invasion of an accused person's rights, since it might make the doing of an act not contemplated by the special statute an offense under that statute, and thus enlarge upon it.

This, in effect, is precisely what is done when a court-martial finds guilty under a charge of "embezzlement, in violation of the Sixty-second Article of War"—it would be quite as logical to find guilty of "arson, in violation of the statute defining bigamy." An officer of the army must convert *public* funds or property to his own use to be guilty of embezzlement, and the offense of an officer who appropriates the funds of a post exchange or company, though it is admittedly a gross breach of trust—rather more heinous than if public funds were involved, since he really steals from enlisted men—is not that of embezzlement, whatever else it may be. It hardly requires argument to support the assertion that the funds of a company or post exchange, a co-operative store under military control, are not public funds within the meaning of Section 5488, Revised Statutes, "furnished or intended for the military service." The conviction of an officer who has appropriated company or post exchange funds of "embezzlement, in violation of the Sixty-second Article of War," is of doubtful legality, and a sentence of imprisonment in a penitentiary imposed on such conviction by a court-martial is null.

The Ninety-seventh Article of War provides that "no person in the military service shall, under the sentence of a court-martial, be punished by confinement in a penitentiary, unless the offense of which he may be convicted would, by some statute of the United States, or by some statute of the State, Territory or District in which such offense may be committed, or by the common law, as it exists in such State, Territory or District, subject such convict to such punishment." The offense of embezzlement is invariably provided for by State legislation, but

the offenses of "Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline" and "Conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman" are not, and only of either or both of these can an officer who converts other than public funds to his own use be legally convicted by a court-martial. Persons in the military service have been sentenced by courts-martial to imprisonment in penitentiaries on a finding of guilty of violations of the Sixty-second Article of War, but nearly always for common-law crimes, like manslaughter or larceny. As the law now stands, one in the military service who appropriates to his own use non-public funds is guilty merely of an offense analogous to that known to the civil law as "breach of trust."

The law as it stands is defective, and non-public funds, such as post exchange and company funds, are not adequately protected, whatever the intent of the legislators may have been.



OUR MILITARY INDIVIDUALISM: THE RELATION OF
AMERICAN CHARACTER TO IT, AND THE IM-
PORTANCE OF ITS EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT.

BY LIEUTENANT FRANK GEERE, ARTILLERY CORPS.



WHEN our army of occupation lay encamped before Manila, whose barracks and churches still sheltered the Spanish garrison that it was to displace, an English newspaper correspondent told his paper that it was "a badly clothed, poorly organized mob of excellent fighting men," and quite recently a writer in the *China Mail* was quoted at some length in one of our service journals, whose text appeared to be that "at one time European critics were inclined to regard the American Army as a species of amateur organization, suitable for fighting frontier Indians, but useless for practical warfare," and that "the largest compensation of the Spanish War is the vast improvement which it has brought about in the United States Army."

Supplementary as these two criticisms are, they could as well have emanated from the same critic, writing before and after the war. Though they bear the stamp of a superficial view, taken from a purely local standpoint, they are delivered with all the assertiveness of broad and competent knowledge, the vogue of the latter-day war correspondent. The Camp Dewey scribe viewed a force almost wholly composed of Western volunteers—a body of hastily clad, well armed, determined and spirited Americans out for plain business; while the *China Mail* correspondent sees the United States Regulars in the islands sleeker, more orderly, better paraded and more comfortably established than the aggregation that tented in the peanut-fields of Paranaque, and he straightway assumes an improvement from "a species of amateur organization. * * * useless for practical warfare."

Had this writer been an authority of any sort his article might have been possible of acceptance as a versed opinion; but as it is it reaches the military reader through the channel mentioned as the view of a layman observer only. Nor have I introduced this article with his remarks for the purpose of

taking issue with them, but merely because they touch on and pass over unnoticed the factor that has almost all to do with the success of American troops in war, and thus suggested the present screed. It is a factor of military individualism, and the relation of American character to it.

The expressions of military men of the same nationality as these correspondents, which are of more value because from a qualified source, evince an appreciative discernment of our individual quality. For example, Major Griffen, of the British Indian cavalry, addressing a gathering of officers at Peking in 1900, pithily summed his opinion of our troops in the statement that "the American soldier is made for use, not show." At Tientsin, in the same campaign, the British commander, General Dorward, wrote of our forces: "The ready and willing spirit of the officers and men will always make their command easy, and when one adds to that the steady gallantry and power of holding on to exposed positions which they displayed on the 13th instant the result is soldiers of the highest class." And it will scarcely be disputed that when Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley declared publicly on several occasions that "for its size the American Army is the best in the world," he referred as much, if not mostly, to the quality and character of its personnel.

That I refer to British opinion, exclusively, is because the military critics of the other European countries have been less quick to notice in us the quality under discussion, and appear generally to place a lighter estimate on its value, prejudiced, perhaps, by strong faith in their own severe and exact military machines; and because the British have been the first in Europe to determine that they needed higher individualism in their service. At the outset of the Boer War they found that they had almost stifled individuality in the ranks beneath tradition, parade and mechanical drilling. Indeed, the reverse of Major Griffen's remark (ungallant as it may seem to say so) could have been without doubt truthfully applied to the British soldier before the commencement of hostilities in South Africa; and but for the practical resourcefulness of the British, displayed in the prompt application of the remedy, they might have come off worse. They learned by bitter experience what the Japanese did not need to learn in Manchuria; the British lack of the quality that answered so much for Japan's striking success was the main reason for their humiliating failure in the earlier half of the war. While the British not only discovered

the defectiveness of the manner of the training for and exercise in war of their soldiers, and proceeded to reform as they fought, they carried on their reforms after the conclusion of hostilities, and are still carrying them on, to the extent that their military service has already undergone a radical revision in this direction. Hence their opinions are interesting and welcome, since they serve to remind us of something we must endeavor never to lose sight of, at least until many more pages of future history have been turned. They learned their lesson fighting the Boers; we learned ours fighting "frontier Indians."

The United States has always been rich in human material. The spirit of independence, a deep sense of patriotism, untiring enterprise and the quality of undauntedness are the traits that have enabled the American people to make of themselves the nation that they are. Vigor, health and manfulness have been the agencies for the expression of the national characteristics—in fewer words, the *power* to express them. With a nation of such people to furnish the fighting ranks, it should be a comparatively easy matter to maintain a high military standard. Indeed, what has contributed most to the success of our army both as a fighting organization and military machine—in spite of the inconsistency of democratic institutions with the essentially non-democratic nature of any true military system—is the individual character of its personnel. That superior individualism was the reason why our soldiers were successful fighting frontier Indians, and nothing else could have made them succeed; and because of it they were able to combat the Filipinos, as a prominent Congressman once debated, "with the sword in one hand and a school-book in the other"; and because of it, also, the United States was able to withdraw from its invasion of North China a better friend of the invaded than before, curious as this seems. With the Indians a high order of intelligence and nerve was requisite for our men; with the Filipinos patience, forbearance and restraint under the most trying circumstances and with the Chinese tolerance, careful discrimination and an example of civilized humanity in exchange for unwarranted barbarity. It all comes under the head of individualism, and with the essentials of courage and devotion to duty accepted, these qualities, separately and collectively, are prerequisite to success in the fulness of its meaning as long as humanity and a high art in strategy are the salient demands of civilized warfare. But neither the Spanish

nor China Wars nor the Filipino insurrection developed that superior individualism; they were merely incident to its evidence. Those wars (if it is permissible to call them such by the side of other historic conflicts) did not teach us to acquire this thing, but rather demonstrated more fully our possession of it.

It is instructive to observe in the serious discussions by the European military critics on the lessons of the Boer War their threshing of the question of extended formations and the intimate relation of military individualism. Much, however, that we see expounded by our contemporaries as "lessons of the Boer War" is recognizable as something not altogether new to us; yet nothing should ever be beneath discussion as long as there is benefit to be drawn from it. Conditions are ever changing with the times: yesterday's methods are not always useful to-day; to-morrow's tactics must conform with to-morrow's conditions. Napoleon, for example, epigrammatically declared that it was not men that counted in war so much as *the man*; but if one of our generals was to offer a similar dogmatism to-day he would be regarded recreant to a cherished principle. To satisfactorily adapt the saying we must change the italics. It is the *man* that counts. Major Burnham, the American who served Lord Roberts as an expert scout in the Transvaal, was quoted in a London paper a few years since as saying that "instead of producing machines any more we have got to train the individual soldier. One thousand men trained to think for themselves, and to shoot straight, can whip 10,000 trained in the old way. But the American Burnham hardly learned this with the British in Africa. Admitting that generalship is always the chief factor in warfare, can it be said that without the *man* our Revolution would have been won, or those lesser conflicts of later days? It was this second and no less important factor that made our Civil War remarkable in history, and the principle involved is still a gospel with us. The Japanese, whose unbounded patriotism, valor, individual intelligence and superb initiative won them victory after victory in Manchuria over their powerful foe, furnish a splendid example of the great value of that principle, and they appreciated its full importance before the Transvaal campaigns whetted the pens of Europe's military writers.

I am not one to favor indiscriminate public comment by non-military and incompetent judges; but on the other hand

I do not believe in closing eyes to possible discrepancies that such people may stumble upon. The voracity of the modern newspaper publisher makes it too easy for any random scribe to impress credulous readers with superficial observations. Yet it pays to pause and question the wisdom or truth of any criticisms, however superficial they may be.

The subject of whether the recent wars of the United States have resulted in improvement for its military service is one that can be profitably treated at great length and in considerable detail, but it would be too great a digression to essay it here. It is certain that the enlargement of the army and its increased distribution and functions have impelled changes in organization, administration and supply. Since the war of 1898 and the aftermath rebellion, we have increased our standing force, created a general staff, revised the various manuals, adopted different methods and reuniformed the personnel. We look different; our appearance has been added to; and the service is in greater evidence than before. These changes have been purposed purely for betterment, and effected after the most mature deliberations of the army's wisest men; therefore, the bald inference that the army has improved is fairly safe. But can we as safely admit that the character of the rank and file is as high as it was?

There is a large difference between the little force of 30,000 trained men that constituted the United States Army before 1898 and the present military composition. There are now comparatively few old and tried soldiers in the ranks, for increased numbers have reduced the proportion of the experienced nucleus, besides the further depletion of long-service men produced by an expanded non-commissioned staff. Men young in age and less experienced in service compose the bulk of the present fighting line, while even those of several enlistment terms have been required to learn along new lines adapted to suit the expansion of the service. No officer can afford to forget this difference, because every effort and all means must be used to mold the individuals into the shape of the new body. To do more than instruct along mechanical lines, but to teach an effective use of that intelligence with which the American born is gifted, should be the definite aim of every company officer, and an appreciation of those personal qualities that I have insisted here cannot fail to be helpful. Otherwise the present discussion would be a piece of worthless conceit.

Not among the least of the object lessons of the China campaign of 1900 was the comparison afforded of the discipline, deportment and general morale of the soldiers of the eight nations that participated. Here was an illustration of the national traits and character of the individual fighting men. It was an unprecedented exemplification of the moral composition of the men at arms and the direct bearing of it on their fighting qualities—a concrete example of how those national institutions for which the soldier fights shape his character; and the lesson may be taken with profit.

At Peking I not infrequently heard foreign officers remark that our men needed better discipline. To be sure they suffered by comparison in the matter of camp and garrison deportment. The trim English "Tommies" had the smack of smartness in their get-up; the Germans displayed an automatic click in their manner that was dazzling; the French carried themselves with a fascinating swagger; the British Indian troopers were picturesque and romantic; while our men, in slouch hats and loose blue shirts, bore themselves with a lounging, indifferent demeanor. But all these things were purely external, and those who criticized our discipline on this account based their judgment on deceptive appearances. I saw a German force of marine infantry and artillery go into action against an irregular Boxer band in the precise manner laid down by the text-books, wasting unnecessarily ever so much ammunition and needlessly exposing themselves in close order. Apparently inferior individualism prevented them from departing from the orthodox, yet they exhibited splendid discipline of the kind useful when the *officers do all the fighting*, as they did. With this experience I have little difficulty in forming a mental picture of the way the German troops are conducting themselves against the Herrero blacks of South Africa, when, according to the papers, after two years' fighting, involving a cost of nearly \$90,000,000 and approximately 1700 casualties, the end of the trouble is by no means in sight. The moral behavior of the Germans in China, however, was a very model; but with all the crack discipline and smart swagger of the French soldiers humanitarianism and morality were not salient features of their conduct when away from their officers, while the native Indians evidenced weaknesses which their military bearing belied.

Our men impressed me in China, where I was a disinterested

non-military observer (and the impression is not a later one), as being conscientiously exact in the execution of the orders of their superiors. Minute instructions nowhere appeared necessary; their natural intelligence and native impulses seeming to enable them to grasp instinctively, as it were, the motive, means, and in cases, method, of the required action. From the action at Tientsin, previously referred to, through the successive engagements leading to and including the relief of the Peking legations, the assault on the Imperial palace and the subsequent provost administration of the fallen capital, the same characteristics predominated. We sometimes heard of penalties announced among the other troops for inhumanity and excess, and we knew of instances where measures were taken to guard against rape. But no one ever dreamed of the American soldier sinking to the brute. There was no evil impulse here to frustrate. His higher civilization taught him to respect the weak and helpless, and many a time I saw him go out of the way to help defenseless women and children of the enemy, while, on the other hand, I can quote instances where our officers assumed authority over foreign soldiers to protect innocents.

A. H. Savage Landor, the English traveler and writer, who was with the Allies in China, tells the story with all freedom from challenge of partiality or prejudice, for which reason I quote him. He says: "If you can discard the blunt manner (which is mostly assumed to show his independence), and the profusion of swear-words (which seem to come somewhat more naturally) interspersing his conversation, there is something very nice about the American soldier. He is intelligently simple in his ways, ever full of resource, quick and shrewd, unboundedly good-natured, and possibly he is, of the soldiers of the various nationalities who have come under my observation, the most humane of all. Yes, indeed; behind a roughness of speech, which is almost startling, a heart of gold is to be found in most American soldiers. I have seen men in the field, on more than one occasion, whom from outward appearances one would put down as perfect brutes, gentle and considerate—almost as gentle as women—toward wounded comrades or fallen enemies."

Landor discerned qualities that could exist without the trappings of parade or click of the drill yard. There is our man slouching down Legation Street, hands in pockets, hat askew,

buttons undone, face unshaven, indifferently saluting the officers of other nations or not—a state of affairs that is admittedly undesirable. But there he is again steadily advancing under fire, lips set, eyes ablaze, cool but spirited, carefully judging his ground and religiously observing his orders—fearless, enthusiastic, thoughtful and humane! It is the possession of these high individual qualities that has carried him to victory in all our wars and enabled him to defeat the most difficult guerilla tactics that ever confronted an army.

That no troops in China carried more credit for morality, courage and intelligent initiative compels the conclusion that our men *were* disciplined. But what is discipline? Surely it is the means of bringing the personnel of an army up to the requirements for handling a large and detailed system with machine-like regularity—the uniform training of each individual unit for conformation to the needs of the aggregate machine, that it may be operated as such. Briefly put, it is the method of subordinating the person to the purpose. This merely spells mental, moral and physical control. Discipline, therefore, differs according to the material to be prepared. With some armies, where individual intelligence is low, automatic precision and instinctive blind obedience are all that can be instilled to complete the soldier. The implicit faith of the native Indians in their white officers, and their apparent helplessness when separated from them, marked this stage; and with the Russians one could not fail to observe the difference in the conduct of the men under the strict watch of their officers, from the lawlessness and license they practiced when temporarily away from the governing hands.

The American soldier, however, with the exception of an occasional refractory case, does not require much of that discipline that peremptorily and intolerantly compels instant and implicit obedience, because he is already amenable to that superior discipline of reason and spirit, a production of his higher moral and mental education—attributes, it is needless to remark, that easily combine with an enthusiastic patriotism and good Christian principles to make the best of all soldiers; and particularly invaluable are they to the needs of modern warfare. An anonymous author, in a famous article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in 1902, on the Transvaal War, asserted that “the tactics of the future will depend much more on the moral condition of the nation at the beginning of the war

and upon the individual energy of the soldier than upon the power of its armament." Had that writer had before him the additional lessons of the recent Russo-Japanese conflict his statement might have seemed more preceptive than perceptive. What he advances is a principle rather than a mere maxim with us, and one that I honestly believe, and, no doubt, many more with me, would have been sufficiently demonstrated by us in the Philippines and North China without the lessons of the Transvaal or Manchuria.

No, we did not discover any principle of individualism as a result of the Spanish War and subsequent conflicts, nor have we especially "improved" in this quality. But we are stronger in a fuller knowledge of its value. The discipline which we depend most on to-day—the kind of discipline that should be most carefully cultivated—is that of trained intelligence more than anything. The day is long past, at least with the Anglo-Saxons, when the absolute mental, physical and moral subordination of the individual are the principal essentials of training in the ranks. It is equally in the functions of our officers in these peace times to teach and encourage their men to be as much the masters of their own intelligence as the dependents of texts and regulations, yet at the same time to guard against undue officiousness.

The practice of modern arms puts a higher premium than ever on the individual qualities and general intelligence of the soldier. Every battle increasingly demonstrates the need of greater direction and lesser leadership by the company officer. The skirmisher is not to be led, but instructed as to the action he is to perform. Thus he must have energy to undertake the task to which he is ordered, courage to face it, determination to carry it through, enterprise to improve his advantages, intelligence to grasp the purpose, and initiative when separated from the directing source. Much, therefore, depends upon the original material, since these qualities cannot be created, but only developed, and herein lies the importance of the recruiting officer's responsibility. After the primary course in obedience the young American soldier should be thoroughly impressed with a sense of its value. First to obey, then faith in his superiors and finally faith in himself—this is his lesson. Doubt of superiors and ignorance of self has made more cowards than mere caitiff fear, and knowledge of how to use the personal powers and the end to which they must be directed can most often

prevent wavering. Initiative, improvisation and sagacious enterprise soon become blighted when confidence is lacking, and that proper training alone can give. A lack of dependence in self is a weakness in the modern soldier to be assiduously guarded against. Over discipline, in this respect, is worse than under discipline, for a latent spirit is better than one that has shown itself only to be crushed. The chance of awakening the former on the eve of the crucial time is infinitely greater than that of evoking spirit out of a withered individuality. But both are equally undesirable and should be placed beyond range by developing and cultivating in peace training those qualities that compel the highest spirit in the soldier. A writer in a recent number of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* (apparently the same anonymous one already quoted)* calls this spirit the prophylactic of fear, and concludes that it "can be developed only through the activity of the officers in technical instruction combined with the eminent resolve not to belittle, on any pretext of discipline, either the initiative or the individuality of the young man who has become a soldier."

We no longer have the school of "frontier Indian" fighting that did so much to improve and strengthen the individualism of our army in the last between-war period, but must depend upon the lessons to be expounded in the squad room, on the drill ground and at the practice camp. These lessons, however, can only be limitedly given by word, but more especially by precept of example, encouragement, appreciation and indication. There is, of course, a definite distinction between garrison discipline and field training. Each has a separate worth. Unswerving obedience and unreserved observance of rules and regulations must be exacted for the former; a departure from mere formula often allowed and an exercise more of the personal powers cultivated for the latter. Practice camps and field maneuvers are, therefore, imperative to the need for developing individualism in the modern soldier, and their value immeasurable. Here he may learn practically the true meaning of prescribed measures—how to grasp a situation, make avail of opportunities, use every advantage, estimate conditions and exercise judgment; he may discover how to convert material, acquire ingenuity in adapting to circumstances, develop regard for results, learn the value of effectiveness and *understand* the means to the end. Such are the demands of military individu-

*Said to be General de Négrier.

alism in modern warfare, and to meet them the company officer must closely study and thoroughly understand his men, a fascinating task, indeed, and one that cannot be too highly estimated.

If what I have said appears to be a threshing of old straw, or sounds at all elementary to older military minds, it at least cannot be said that it serves no purpose to discuss the subject. Would that it seemed half as elementary to the general public! Then, perhaps, their representatives in the Government might be less inclined to vote down appropriations for field maneuvers than at present.



MARCH OF THE SIXTH BATTERY, FIELD ARTILLERY*

FORT RILEY TO FORT SAM HOUSTON—NOV., 1905—JAN., 1906,
UNDER CAPTAIN GEORGE W. GATCHELL, ARTILLERY CORPS.

THE following instructions were received in the mail at Fort Sill,

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF TEXAS,

MILITARY SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

SAN ANTONIO TEXAS, November 24, 1905.

Commanding Officer, Sixth Battery, F. A.,

Fort Sill, O. T.

SIR:—By direction of the Department Commander the following instructions are furnished you.

You are expected to arrive at Fort Sill not later than December 5th, and you will resume the march not later than December 7th, conforming in your marches to the enclosed itinerary, which will not be departed from unless in emergency. You will draw ten days' rations at Fort Sill, which will be two days in excess of the amount required to reach Fort Worth, where ten days' more rations will await you. At Taylor, Texas, where you should arrive December 23d, you will receive rations for seven days, sufficient to carry you to Fort Sam Houston, arriving at the latter point December 30th.

The transportation in this department has been heavily worked the past year, and for that reason it has been found necessary to shorten your marches. You will leave the pack-train at Fort Sill; the rest of the Fort Reno transportation will accompany you to Fort Worth, Texas, where it will be exchanged for transportation from Fort Sam Houston, and will at once return to its station via Fort Sill.

In case circumstances should require you to deviate from above instructions you will at once report that fact by wire to this office, giving reasons therefor.

Very respectfully,

(Sgd.) WALTER L. FINLEY,

Major, Military Secretary.

The enclosure was the following:

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF TEXAS,

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF QUARTERMASTER, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

Proposed itinerary for Sixth Battery, between Caldwell, Kansas, and Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

1. Caldwell, 9 miles,					DEC.
1. Renfrew, 20 miles,			11. Apache, 17 miles,		4
2. Pondcreek, 19 miles,			12. Fort Sill, 22 miles,		5
3. Enid, 20 miles,			13. Walter, 16 miles,		6
4. Hennessey, 17 miles,			14. Waurika, 21 miles,		8
5. Kingfisher, 10 miles,			15. Terral, 16 miles,		9
6. Okarche, 15 miles,			16. Stoneburg, 19 miles,		10
7. Fort Reno,			17. Park Springs, 15 miles,		11
	DEC.		18. Bridgeport, 22 miles,		12
8. So. Canadian River	1		19. Newark, 21.5 miles,		13
9. Springcreek,	2		20. Fort Worth, 21 miles,		14
10. Anadarko, 15 miles,	3		21. Eagan, 16 miles,		15

*Continued from July Number.

	DEC		DEC
22. Grandview, 19 miles,	16	30. Round Rock, 19 miles,	24
23. Hillsboro, 15 miles,	17	31. Austin, 15 miles,	25
24. West, 19 miles,	18	32. Manchaca, 18 miles,	26
25. Waco, 19 miles,	19	33. San Marcos, 19 miles,	27
26. Eddy, 22 miles,	20	34. New Braunfels, 14 miles,	28
27. Little River, 15 miles,	21	35. Bracken, 18 miles,	29
28. Bartlett, 16 miles,	22	36. Fort San Houston,	30
29. Taylor, 16 miles,	23		

NOTE:

Points 1-6, 10-20, on C. R. I. and P. Railway.

Points 20 to 29, on M. K. and T. Railway.

Points 29 to 36, on I. and G. N. Railway.

Points 8 and 9 not on Railway.

Point 7 on Choctaw (Fort Reno).

Tuesday, Dec. 5th.

This day was spent at Fort Sill. Major Taylor, Post Commander, in obedience to instructions from the Department Commander, made an inspection of the transportation. It was found best to replace one mule, and necessary to make slight repairs to one escort wagon and the hospital ambulance. The carriages and wagons were overhauled and cleaned, wheels oiled or greased and harness cleaned.

Here the men had another chance to bathe.

Our head cook had to go to the hospital with malaria.

He was later forwarded to Fort Sam Houston and joined us on our arrival.

It was a great privilege, both at Fort Sill and Fort Reno, to meet and talk over old times with friends one had not seen for over eighteen years. The officers with the battery were entertained and retain yet pleasant recollections of Fort Sill.

Wednesday, Dec. 6th.

Fort Sill, O. T., to Walters, O. T.

Distance 28.1 miles.

Marching rate 3.8 miles per hour.

Weather—Cloudy and warm.

At 7.15 A.M. we left Fort Sill, leaving there the pack train.

We started to march into country, of which we all were almost ignorant, having nothing but a railway map on which to march.

We had learned that the distances, of the first part at least, of our new itinerary had been taken from a railway folder. Our former experience with roads running on section lines made us believe these distances would not answer, and the day's march corroborated our expectations, for a distance set down as twenty-two miles lengthened out to twenty-eight miles before we reached Walters.

Thursday, Dec. 7th.

Walters, O. T., to Hastings, O. T.

Distance 21.9 miles.

Marching rate 3.8 miles per hour.

Weather—Mild.

We knew the Red River was before us, but did not know the best

place to cross. We kept the inhabitants busy answering our questions as to bridges, fords, roads and distances. Inquiry showed that the second distance on the itinerary, which was set down as sixteen miles, would be thirty-two miles; so it was decided to deviate from the itinerary and proceed via Hastings to Ryan, I. T. We were advised to cross the Red River at the ford going to Charlie, Texas, but this seemed too much of a deviation. We were glad later that we did not try that way, as we learned the river had not been fordable at that point.

The march of this day was uneventful. Left Walters at 7.15 A.M.; went into camp east of Hastings in a pasture near some brick works. Drinking water was very scarce.

From Hastings the following telegram was sent.

MILITARY SECRETARY,

Department of Texas, San Antonio, Texas.

Impracticable to reach Waurika to-day. Actual distances exceed those sent me. Request authority to change stopping places when necessary to make marches less than twenty-two miles. March to Ryan, I. T., to-morrow.

GATCHELL, *Commanding Sixth Battery.*

Friday, Dec. 8th.

Hastings, O. T., to Ryan, I. T.

Distance 21.6 miles.

Marching rate 3.7 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine; cold in the morning.

This day saw us in two Territories, but with our eyes often turned toward Texas, which, the later part of the day, we could see in the distance. The day was uneventful; cold nights and mornings, warm days, beautiful moonlight nights, tell the story of most days at this period. Shortly before reaching Ryan we were marching again on our geological maps. About 2 P.M. we crossed Beaver Creek on a suspension bridge, and went into camp on high ground northwest of Ryan, from which position we had a beautiful view to the west.

At Ryan the following was received in reply to the telegram sent from Hastings:

CAPTAIN GATCHELL,

Commanding Battery, Field-Artillery,

Ryan, Indian Territory.

You already have authority to change scheduled marches in emergency of which you must be judge. You left Sill one day ahead schedule and should be able make Fort Worth on 14th, which is important account rations and change transportation. Keep this office informed by wire any further changes in schedule.

By order Colonel Hughes:

FINLEY,

Military Secretary.

Saturday, Dec. 9th.

Ryan, I. T., to Ringgold, Texas.

Distance 17.7 miles.

Marching rate 3.7 miles per hour.

Weather—Cloudy and cold.

Another day to be long remembered—the day we forded the Red River—the day we first set foot in Texas.

We left park at 7:14 A. M., passed through Ryan and headed for Terral, I. T. A mile or two north of Terral we ran into a flock of geese of probably a 1000 or more, feeding in the fields. Our Nimrods were not able to get any and our visions of roast wild goose faded gently away. We stopped to lunch at Terral, and then about 11:30 A. M. pushed on to the river. As at the Canadian, Lieutenant Churchill and Ben Clark went ahead to find a ford if possible or to arrange with the ferry if the river was not fordable. The river was rather high and had been high for a week or more. We met one party traveling with a wagon who informed us that for a week or more they had been traveling down the river looking for a place to cross.

At the river Lieutenant Churchill had found a man whose desire for gain far exceeded his patriotism, and whose veracity might be questioned.

While Lieutenant Churchill and Ben Clark were seeking a ford, this man, owner of the ferry, was crossing the river to get the party with wagon mentioned above. The river was found to be fordable, but the only suitable ford landing on the south side was where the ferry-boat landed. Here a roadway had been cut through the high steep bank.

While Lieutenant Churchill and Ben Clark were on the south side the ferryman brought back his boat and effectually blocked up the ford that had been selected; in fact, blocked it so effectually that Lieutenant Churchill could not cross again to the battery. Lieutenant Churchill accosted the man, but he did not wish us to ford. He desired to ferry us (a six or seven hours' job) and argued that if we forded others would, and so he would lose money. Finally he agreed to move his boat out of the way for a consideration of \$10. This being done, the battery, at about noon, started across the river, following the method employed at the Canadian. The crossing was without mishap until the driver of the last wagon, the condemned ambulance, without waiting for a lead pair, as he was expected to do, started across. Either through misunderstanding the signals, or through pure blundering, the driver moved a little down the river off of the path the rest had taken and soon one of his pair was floundering in quicksand. To add to the troubles a single tree broke about this time. When it was seen that the horses could not pull out, Private Martin, who was riding with the wagon, jumped out upon the pole and endeavored to free the horses from the harness. He did not succeed, but was thrown over in the water and thoroughly drenched. The owner of the boat stood by and grinned at our discomfiture. When assured that he would be paid for his trouble he permitted the use of his boat. The boat was manned and shoved out beside the struggling pair, for now both were in the quicksand. After some

useless attempts to free the horses, Quartermaster-Sergeant Musselman jumped into the water, and wading to the horses soon freed one, who made his way to the shore.

The other horse was about exhausted and lay down in the water.

A rope was fastened to his bit to hold up his head while the harness was taken off or cut off. Then the horse was drawn toward the shore. As soon as he felt the bottom he got to his feet and walked ashore. A fire was built to dry and warm the men, and the two horses were dried and rubbed down. In the meantime efforts were made to pull out the wagon. The contents were moved to the boat and a line of sections of picket line fastened together and run out from the shore to the wagon. Eight animals were hitched to this line, but the wagon could not be started even. Then, as the boat had a drop gangway at each end, one end was run close to the front of the wagon and an attempt made to raise the front of the wagon out of the quicksand and run the wagon up on to the boat. This also failed utterly. Then as it was 2 o'clock, and the horses were still waiting wet and cold, and as the wagon had no real value and had been almost as much of a nuisance as a help, it was decided to abandon it.

Directions were given to take off all property, and with an ax disable the wagon, being sure to cut away any marks that said "Sixth Battery."

The wagon sides were knocked in, spokes cut out of some wheels and the end of the tongue cut off. Property was then removed from the boat, packed in the wagons, the sections of picket line stowed and the battery moved on to Ringgold.

While the Red River was supposed to be not so bad as the Canadian it was found to be worse. There was a greater stretch of water, the water was just as deep and the current as strong, and the bottom was more treacherous. The water came close up to the south bank, which was some ten or fifteen feet high and very steep. A roadway had been cut through this bank through which each carriage had to pass.

This roadway did not get very slippery, and to keep it fairly dry cannoneers were kept busy throwing on dry sand.

The owner of the ferry-boat, and possessor of a charter to run the same, seemed to take delight in our misfortunes; he stood by grinning and never raised a finger to help—except in the handling of his boat.

He claimed not only to possess a charter, but also to own the land on to which we came out of the river. We were afterward informed that the State reserves a strip of some 200 feet or 300 feet wide along the bank, and the fences seemed to show that. It is feared that the ferryman heard some remarks not pleasing to his ear—but who loves a skin-flint.

After leaving the river the battery marched through some deep

sand, but this served to warn the horses. In about an hour we pitched camp in Ringgold, Texas, not far from where the Rock Island Railroad, crosses the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad. Guns and sights were overhauled, dried and oiled where needed.

After getting into camp the following telegram was sent:

MILITARY SECRETARY,

Department of Texas, San Antonio, Texas.

Sixth Battery stops at Ringgold, Texas, to-day; Stoneburg tomorrow.

GATCHELL, Commanding.

Sunday, Dec. 10th.

Ringgold, Tex., to Stoneburg, Tex.

Distance 14.1 miles.

Marching rate 3.5 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine.

Left Ringgold at 7:20 A. M. This was a short march and a restful one to the horses. Some nine or ten miles of this march was through wild pasture land, so thinly settled that we saw wolves or coyotes in broad daylight. Some of the soil was the worst we had seen, producing nothing but cactus and some paltry weeds. Considerable of it was, however, good pasture land. We reached Stoneburg at 11:40 A. M. and went into camp just west of the railroad station.

After considerable study of the maps and questioning of inhabitants it was decided to deviate again from the proposed itinerary, and the following telegram was sent:

MILITARY SECRETARY,

Department of Texas, San Antonio, Texas.

Will proceed to Fort Worth via Sunset, Decatur, Rhome. Better roads, more convenient marches and stopping places than on itinerary directed and believed to be shorter.

GATCHELL,
Commanding Sixth Battery.

Monday, Dec. 11th.

Stoneburg, Tex., to Sunset, Tex.

Distance 20.7 miles.

Marching rate 3.6 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine.

This day's work was rather hard, due to sandy roads.

Since leaving the country north of Fort Sill we had not seen much wooded country, but at Bowie we again ran in to scrub-oak with its sure companion sand. At Bowie we stopped for lunch. It was trading day and the town was full of cowboys, cattle men, horse men and cotton men. We were, of course, a center of attraction for some who had never seen field-artillery or even Regular troops before.

When we reached Sunset some of the horses showed the effects of the day's work—one horse had a slight attack of colic, but was all right by the next morning. We experienced considerable difficulty in getting water at Sunset. The place provided was near

where cattle were being slaughtered and many horses would not drink at all. We were camped in the town, and we had to get our supply by sending buckets to the neighbors' wells.

At Fruitland, before reaching Sunset, we marched off of our geological maps, so were again dependent upon our Rand and McNally map of Texas and information from the inhabitants.

Tuesday, Dec. 12th.

Sunset, Tex., to Decatur, Tex.

Distance 22.9 miles.

Marching rate (3.3 miles per hour for first part of day, and 2 miles per hour for latter part of day.)

We left Sunset at 7:25 A. M. with the rain falling gently.

As we were to march in the sand in the scrub-oak we thought the roads would not be bad, but we were destined to have the hardest day of the whole march. We went along at a decent gait until we came to Alvord, where we stopped for lunch. The rain continuing, the roads got worse and worse, the sand we expected proving to be chiefly red clay with occasionally a strip of slippery bluish-white clay. Just beyond Alvord, in attempting to follow the directions given us by civilians, we got off the main road. We found that the inhabitants stayed indoors when it rained and just when we most needed information there was no one near at hand to question. We had been traveling east and leaving the railway when we came to a narrow road going north and south. It did not seem possible that going north could be right, so we turned south, which happened to be wrong, and we got into the worst piece of road we struck in the whole march.

The ruts were deep and irregular and there was no room to travel except in the old ruts. In making one turn nearly every carriage and wagon had to be held to keep from tipping over. A little beyond this turn there was quite a deep gutter on our left and there was only a foot or so of soil between it and the rut. The first carriage broke away this soil and slid into the gutter. It was some time before the horses could pull out of this. Every carriage and wagon had to pass over this ground, and it showed the mettle of the horses and mules and the patience and skill of the drivers.

Just before reaching this bad road, one of the cannoneers, as a carriage slewed in the mud, fell off and was run over. He was not seriously injured, although we could not be sure of that at that time.

We had only a mile of this road before reaching a main road, but it told badly on the horses. We had still five or six miles to go, and the outlook was dubious. We were wet and cold and the horses were covered with mud. The leading carriages got along fairly well, but by the time the rear carriages reached any spot they had to travel in soft, slippery mud that spattered over everything. The main road was up and down hill and was not found easy to travel. We would

march for twenty minutes and then halt ten minutes; and at nearly every halt some horse had to be replaced from the spare line. When there were no more horses to put in, we had to let one or two pairs fall out to come on when able. There were no places to camp, and our quartermaster, with fuel and forage, was at Decatur—we just had to keep going. Many horses slipped and fell in the mud, but rose again to renewed effort. The reports that came from the officer of the day, who was watching the column, were most discouraging, and it made one sick at heart to give the command to move forward.

When within three or four miles of Decatur the county courthouse at that place could be seen through the rain and mist, but it seemed as if we never would get there. We made five halts in the last three miles. When about half a mile from Decatur we struck a nice hard road and shortly rejoiced at sight of our quartermaster, who soon led us to our camp site on top of the north end of the hill on which Decatur is located. Considering the work they had done, it was surprising that the horses and mules brought practically the whole command into park at one time. One kit wagon was left to come on when able, and two lead drivers with their pairs and one musician with his horse was left the same way. Within twenty or thirty minutes all were at the camp. We went into park about 5:30 P. M.

A cook fire had been started before our arrival, and although it was dark and wet, it was not long before all were as comfortable as they could be under the circumstances.

We had great difficulty in putting up our tents as there was but little soil on the rock under us. The rock was rather soft and with the aid of a cold chisel or a pick-ax we made holes for our tent pins.

In view of the day's work and of the fact that we had traveled seven days without rest, covering nearly 150 miles, we decided to rest at Decatur. Our rations were giving out; the new supply was at Fort Worth some thirty miles away; a wagon train was at Fort Worth awaiting us; and its teamsters could not get a new supply of rations until our quartermaster reached them. In view of the foregoing the following telegram was sent:

MILITARY SECRETARY,

Department of Texas, San Antonio, Texas.

Obliged by rain and condition of roads and horses to rest until roads are fit to use. Black waxy soil ahead. Request orders for quartermaster to proceed by rail to Fort Worth and return to give rations to wagon train and ship to battery. Request also 500 additional field rations be shipped to Waco as soon as practicable.

GATCHELL, Commanding.

The reply was favorable, and in two days our rations were with us and we were ready to move forward.

Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, Dec. 13th, 14th and 15th.

The rain continued during the night and it was cold and misty on the next day. The horses could not rest much in the wet and mud. By night, however, the wind suddenly shifted to the northwest and Thursday saw clearing weather. As soon as it could be done the horses were carefully groomed and the men had "another holiday" with the carriages and the harness. Thursday and Friday were also used in drying out overcoats, bedding, shoes, etc.

Captain Brady, of the Texas National Guard, who is Deputy County Clerk for Wise County, permitted the officers to make use of his office as a rendezvous. There we got thoroughly dry, wrote our letters, met many good Texans, and was introduced, in talk only, to that bugaboo of Texas roads, black mud. We had not seen any as yet, but were to see more or less of it every day for the rest of our march.

We talked much about roads, and about routes to Austin to escape the black mud; but our route was already given to us, and the places for getting rations were such that we could not, at that time at any rate, select any different route. The following was reported to be the best route from Decatur to Austin in wet weather:—Decatur, Springtown, Weatherford, Granbury, Glenrose, Walnut Springs, Meridian, Gatesville, Killeen, Georgetown, Round Rock, Austin. This route is reported to be more or less hilly, but to have very little black land as compared with the route we were to travel. It is said also to be somewhat shorter. This route does not follow any railroads, but is crossed by several.

Our stay at Decatur was very pleasant, and we are under obligations to Captain Brady and other National Guard officers for their kindness to us.

We found at Decatur, what we found afterward elsewhere, great differences of opinion as to what wagons can and cannot do in the black mud.

There was black mud just ahead of us and we decided to find out about it for ourselves, after Lieutenants Bryson and Churchill had been sent out on Friday to inspect the road for a few miles and had pronounced it fit to travel.

Saturday, Dec. 16th.

Decatur, Texas, to Rhome, Texas.

Distance 16.3 miles.

Marching rate 3.3 miles per hour.

Weather—Clear and warm.

Our marching rate indicates what we found. There was considerable soft mud, but most of the black soil was dry and spongy; in either case it did not "pick up"—that is stick to and ball upon the wheels.

None of the road traveled this day could be called good, for even the hillsides were "seepy," that is, the water oozed forth as if driven out by a

substratum of clay. The march was not long and the horses stood it very well; and as we made camp at Rhome about 1 P.M. they had plenty of time to rest.

Sunday, Dec. 17th.

Rhome, Tex., to Fort Worth, Tex.

Distance 23.2 miles.

Marching rate 3.3 miles per hour.

Weather—Partly cloudy and warm.

The marching rate again shows we struck heavy roads. The first four miles we traveled through pasture land, through courtesy of the owner, and avoided black mud. The next mile or two was rough and rocky. When we came to the Rock Island R. R. and turned eastward we struck black soil again. For the greater part it was dry and spongy and the carriages rode over it without picking up. About six miles out of Fort Worth we came to a good macadam road and we traveled on pretty good roads the rest of the way. The march was a little long and tired some of the horses considerably. One horse had a slight attack of colic after arriving at camp.

At Fort Worth we found the Fort Sam Houston wagon train awaiting us; two army wagons, two escort wagons, one ambulance, twenty-three mules, four civilian teamsters and one enlisted man as teamster. Such transfers of property as were necessary were made and Ben Clark was instructed to take charge of and return to Fort Reno with his horse and the Fort Reno transportation.

Monday, Dec. 18th.

Fort Worth, Tex., to Egan, Tex.

Distance 24.8 miles.

Marching rate 3.3 miles per hour.

Weather—Cloudy in the A.M., rain in the P.M.

Ben Clark bade us farewell and started with the Reno transportation on the return trip to Fort Reno, via Fort Sill.

The battery started at 7:45 A.M. and consumed the first hour in passing through the city and getting on to the road going south to Egan. We found a nice macadam road which we kept for nearly sixteen miles. It was fortunate that we had such a long stretch of good road, for had it been otherwise our march of the afternoon would have been very severe. When we left Fort Worth we left behind one wagon to get meat for our lunches, as we had not been able to get it the day before as it was Sunday. We expected this wagon to join us early in the day's march, but it was delayed and did not join us till night.

At noon we had only coffee for our lunch, as we supposed all the bread was in the absent wagon. We learned later that there was bread in the wagon which had the coffee, but the cooks had forgotten it was so packed. This was the only day we did not have warm coffee, meat and either soft or hard bread for lunch.

The sky did not look promising, and remembering our Sunset-Decatur experiences, we were hoping against hope that it would not rain.

Soon after noon, however, it began to sprinkle; we tried to believe it was only a shower and at first would not put on our "slickers."

Very soon we had to put them on and they did not come off again till we were in camp at Egan.

The road continued to be good until we left the county about one mile north of Burleson, where we went plump into a bad patch of slippery black mud. When we left camp in the morning we had thought to shorten the march by camping a couple of miles north of Marystown on Quil Miller Creek. At Burleson the battery commander got into communication by 'phone with the quartermaster at Egan and learned it would be necessary to make the entire march to Egan. This was disheartening; we had no particular thought for the men, for they knew how to look out for themselves; but our thoughts were for the horses for they were showing the wear and tear of the march and we wished to lighten their work where possible. We pushed on rather slowly, and after marching through some black mud and considerable red sand we at last found a few buildings in the vicinity of a railroad station that marked the location of Egan, which place we reached at about 4:25 P.M.

One of the kit wagons had to fall out of the column soon after 2 P. M. on account of a played out horse, but came into camp shortly after we got settled. The camp ground was the worst we had, being soft and sloppy. By putting paulins on the ground the men made their tents habitable.

It had become apparent that the horses needed rest, but it was evident that Egan was not the place to stop; and as Alvarado was but a few miles ahead we decided to go there the next day and seek a better camp ground.

Tuesday, Dec. 19th.

Egan, Tex., to Alvarado, Tex.

Distance 6.7 miles.

Marching rate 3 miles per hour.

Weather—Rain.

We left camp at 7:40 A. M. and were glad to leave in spite of the rain. The march was short but a crooked and difficult one, especially for the wagon train. We made thirty-five changes of direction in less than seven miles. The soil was mostly red, but it had a tendency to stick and it had to be dug out of the wheels. The wagons had to stop several times to dig out and did not get to camp until some time after the battery. We found a good camp site under some trees in pasture land with pretty firm turf. We passed a fairly comfortable day and the horses, though wet and muddy, had a good rest.

Toward night the wind changed and it looked as if it might clear up soon.

Wednesday, Dec. 20th.

Alvarado, Tex., to Antioch School near Grandview, Tex.

Distance 8 miles.

Marching rate 2 miles per hour.

Weather—Clear and warm.

Clearing weather greeted us in the morning. We had learned some time before this that we were about to enter the worst black land in Texas, but had been informed that wagons could travel in the black mud while it was soft; that it was impossible to travel when it dried enough to get waxy. We determined to know these things from our own experience, and decided to travel as far as we could while the mud was soft, knowing we would be obliged to rest when it got waxy, but desiring to be on our way as far as possible before we halted to wait for the roads to dry. Long before night we had had all the experience we cared for and were ready to halt.

Our experience had already assured us that the battery could travel through any mud that the wagon train could traverse, so it was decided to send the wagon train ahead with the quartermaster, who had instructions to look for a camp at once when the train could no longer advance.

We desired, if possible, to reach some high ground near the south fork of Chambers Creek, north of Grandview, an advance of only nine miles.

After the wagons were loaded the men turned their attention to getting the mud from the carriages and in oiling the wheels.

About 10:30 A. M. we left camp. At first we had little or no trouble as we passed through red clay and sand mostly. But the sun and wind worked too fast for us and when we got to black mud it was waxy and very soon picked up enough to stop wheels from turning.

This was especially true with the store wagon and the battery wagon, here there was but little space between the spare wheels and the wheels of the carriage. The ambulance, with its narrow tires and numerous spokes, also had much trouble.

It took us three hours to go the last five miles of the day's march, and in that time we had to halt four times and dig out the wheels.

With spades, axes, shovel handles, sticks, anything we could find, this was accomplished.

At one time the column got well opened up, and it took nearly forty-five minutes to clear the wheels and get the column closed again.

After that we kept one musician at the head of the column and one at the rear to sound the halt as soon as any carriage stalled; in this manner we kept the column closed.

We found it necessary to halt about every twenty minutes to clear the wheels. When we halted at 2:20 P. M., one of the kit wagons was discovered a short distance ahead and word sent to it not to move forward without instructions from the battery commander. As was sus-

pected, the wagon train was found a little beyond this, and we were soon led to a camp ground by the quartermaster. We learned that the wagon train had occupied two hours in going the last mile.

At 2:58 P. M. we parked in an almost ideal spot for a camp; wood all about us, good turf under foot and a creek running right in front of the park. The ambulance was stalled a mile or two back on the road and required six mules to bring it in. Its wheels were nearly a solid mass of mud. One who has never seen it would scarcely believe that the mud could pick up so—we no longer have doubts on the subject. To the difficulty of draft must also be added the difficulty the horses had in picking up their feet with nearly a cubic foot of mud on each before one realizes how much work there is to travel in such stuff. The inhabitants rarely try to travel when the mud is sticky. While on this particular day we did not see it, we frequently saw afterward where farmers had abandoned their wagons or carriages right in the road rather than pull them any farther.

Thursday, Friday and Saturday, Dec. 21st, 22d and 23d.

The roads being in such condition, and the horses really in need of a good rest, it was decided to stay in camp where we were until such time as the roads could be traveled without tiring the horses too much.

At this and all other times when there were delays or any changes in the itinerary the Department Commander was informed by wire, according to instructions.

The weather was fine most of the time, and we enjoyed our rest. On the evening of the 21st a thunderstorm came up and started the mud again. The 22d was cloudy all day, but a good wind was blowing and dried the roads considerably. The 23d brought a good sun and kept the good wind so that the roads became passable.

We had some difficulty in getting supplies; we bought up about all the surplus forage near at hand. Our bread was giving out, but we had purchased a supply and it was waiting for us at Grandview. Part of this bread we got by making big saddle-bags out of gunny sacks, and the rest we brought out from town on a limber hauled by six mules.

Advantage was taken of these days to overhaul our carriages again and clean up our harness. We watched the roads daily, and by the 23d we decided we could leave the next morning, and by making two short marches, to Itasca, then to Hillsboro, we could there resume our prescribed itinerary.

Sunday, Dec. 24th.

Distance 13.7 miles.

Marching rate 3 miles per hour.

Weather—Clear and cool.

We found the road very heavy, but the mud did not pick up and we got along nicely. We no longer paid attention to marching rate; we aimed to get over what ground we could each day without tiring our animals. We found that several of them were not yet sufficiently

rested to make a long march. Without any incidents worthy of mention we reached Itasca at 12:24 P. M. and went into camp in the town.

The people here were very kind and brought fruit and cigars to the men.

Monday, Dec. 25th.

Itasca, Tex., to Hillsboro, Tex.

Distance 13.2 miles.

Marching rate 3.3 miles per hour.

Weather—A little cloudy.

The roads were still heavy but improving. The march was a pleasant one without incident worthy of mention. We reached Hillsboro at 11:45 A. M. and went into camp within the city limits.

For some time we had been wondering and talking over what we could do about a Christmas dinner for the men. While at Grandview Lieutenant Churchill had learned that a baker in Hillsboro had just moved to a new building and that the old bakery was probably available. Accordingly a letter was sent to the postmaster at Hillsboro to engage turkeys for us and arrange if possible for the use of this old bakery.

Early on the morning of the 25th Lieutenant Churchill with one cook and one assistant, mounted, and some two hours before daylight started for Hillsboro. As a result of their efforts and the kindness of the postmaster and the baker we had a good Christmas dinner.

Tuesday, Dec. 26th.

Hillsboro, Tex., to West, Tex.

Distance 16 miles.

Marching rate 3.3 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine.

We left park at 7:19 A. M., and soon were on roads that were dry but rough, as they had been traveled some when muddy. It was noticeable on all the roads recently traveled that carriages with single horses had made the ruts, and this made it difficult for us.

Our leading carriages had to make practically a new roadway.

We made fairly decent time and reached camp beside the railroad at West at 1:04 P. M. Again, one or two horses showed signs of tiring before the end of the day's march.

Wednesday, Dec. 27th.

West, Tex., to Waco, Tex.

Distance 18.6 miles.

Marching rate 3.5 miles per hour.

Weather—Clear and pleasant.

The march was a pleasant one devoid of incidents to note.

We left park at 7:22 A. M. and went into camp in the baseball park at Waco at 1:42 P. M.

At Waco orders were received transferring Lieutenant McKinlay to the Second Battery and ordering him to report for duty with that

battery. Accordingly he was at once relieved from duty with the Sixth Battery and left for Fort Riley, Kan., on the morning of Dec. 28th.

Thursday, Dec. 28th.

Waco, Tex., to Eddy, Tex.

Distance 22.7 miles.

Marching rate 3.3 miles per hour.

Weather—Clear.

This was a pleasant march, but about five miles too long.

Part of it was over very good "white stone" roads, through hilly country. We passed some fine clear creeks, and the sight of these and of green live-oak trees on the hillsides was most pleasing to the eyes. We stopped at Lorena for lunch. Shortly after we left Lorena we crossed North Cow Bayou and had to climb a rather long hard hill. This was most too much for some of the horses, and soon after this two carriages were permitted to fall out to rest and come on when able and at whatever pace they could, a sergeant being left in charge of each. It had been noticed for several days that after halting a half-hour for lunch a few of the horses did not seem willing to go on at the rate they had taken before the halt. The rest of the battery went on to Eddy. Before reaching Eddy one of the horses of the store wagon was taken ill, and this carriage had to fall out and change horses. Rather late in the afternoon we passed through Eddy and went into camp in a pasture near plenty of good water. Somewhat later the carriages that had fallen out came slowly into camp.

The owner of the pasture where we camped, Professor Bedechek, who had served with Confederate artillery during the Civil War, showed intelligent interest in examining our guns. He had watched the progress of field-artillery since the war, and had endeavored to study about our guns when he heard of our march and approach to Eddy. It was a pleasure to meet him and converse with him.

The experiences of the day made it evident that we must not try any more marches of such length. The next place on the itinerary was Little River, twenty-five miles away; but we decided to go next day to Temple only, which was understood to be seventeen miles away.

The next morning all the horses that had been in draft the day before were ready for work except one. Another horse was put in his place and he was put with the spare horses.

Friday, Dec. 29th.

Eddy, Tex., to Temple, Tex.

Distance 17.6 miles.

Marching rate 3.2 miles per hour.

Weather—Pleasant; cool in the morning.

This march took us on some very good roads over hills presenting many pretty landscapes. The horses did remarkably well considering the work of the day before. One or two horses had to be replaced

during the day, but no carriages fell out and the battery kept closed up well and came into park together at 2 P. M.

During the afternoon it was noticed that one of the horses was not well—would not take his feed and showed colicky symptoms. He received treatment at once.

Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 30th and 31st.

Rain greeted us again Saturday morning. It had been planned to advance to Holland on this day, but with muddy roads and tired horses this seemed out of the question, so orders were given not to break camp and it was decided to rest at Temple till the roads were fit to travel.

On Saturday morning every horse except the sick one could have traveled on good roads. It was wet and disagreeable all day Saturday.

We made many inquiries about the roads. As a result, we decided that the road south through Holland, Granger, Taylor, etc., was impracticable, and that a much better way, with shorter marches, would be through Belton, Salado, Cornhill, Georgetown and Round Rock to Austin, and it was decided to take this latter route. As rations awaited us at Taylor, the following telegram was sent:

MILITARY SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF TEXAS, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.

Raining here. Forced to delay. Request authority quartermaster to proceed to Taylor and ship rations here. Request five hundred field rations shipped to Round Rock. No flour or hard bread desired. Wish to save all flour. Meat component as before.

GATCHELL, *Commanding Sixth Battery.*

The reply was favorable, and action was taken accordingly.

Sunday was pleasant and the roads were drying fast. Sunday morning the command was mustered.

On Sunday afternoon the battery commander and Lieutenant Bryson went out some three miles on the road to Belton and found it fit to travel.

Soon after these officers returned to camp, just about retreat, the sick horse died. The horse was some ten or twelve years old and a good draft horse, but a too willing puller, and had twice before during the season's work at Fort Riley shown signs of giving out. He had been well cared for by our stable sergeant, a very capable man, but failed to respond to treatment. The case was diagnosed as enteritis.

Arrangements were soon made for the proper disposition of the dead animal. We were greatly disappointed at the death of this horse, for we had hoped to be able to take all our horses through to Fort Sam Houston. As it was, we had marched over 730 miles without losing a horse.

The Department Commander was duly notified of our determination to proceed to Austin via Belton, etc.

Monday, Jan. 1, 1906.

Temple, Tex., to Belton, Tex.

Distance 9.6 miles.

Marching rate 3.2 miles per hour.

Weather—Threatening at first, rain later.

When we awoke in the morning it was foggy and the wind was in a quarter that was threatening. As we had only a short distance to make we did not start until 7:58 A.M. We found the roads a little heavy, but not very bad and easily made Belton before 11 A.M. In about twenty minutes more we were making camp at Confederate Grove, on Nolan's Creek. It was a nice place to camp. Nolan's Creek is a fine clear stream, and right in the grove were some excellent springs for drinking water. Shortly after we arrived at camp it began to mist and the remainder of the day and the night was bad.

The trees gave a little cover and the turf was pretty firm and the grove drained well, so we did not suffer much discomfort.

Tuesday, Jan. 2d.

Belton, Tex., to Salado, Tex.

Distance 10.4 miles.

Marching rate 3.1 miles per hour.

Weather—Rain in A.M.; clearing in P.M.; rain and hail at night.

We started in the rain, but before noon it began to clear.

The wind was working to the northwest and there was promise of good weather. The roads were heavy and there was considerable black mud, but nothing like what we had experienced at Grandview.

We had little difficulty in getting along, but made no attempts to hurry the horses. Before noon we went into camp under some live-oaks on the north bank of Salado Creek. Here again was good clear water. The afternoon was quite pleasant and we utilized it in freeing our horses and vehicles from mud. At night a thunderstorm came up from the northwest and we were pelted with hail and rain for a while. Our horses seemed to be improving every day, the short marches being little more than good exercise.

Wednesday, Jan. 3d.

Salado, Tex., to Corn Hill, Tex.

Distance 13.5 miles.

Marching rate 2.9 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine.

This was another hard day; the last hard day we had. It was well that the march was short. The first mile or so of the march was over a nice hard road, but the next few miles, especially just before passing Prairiedell, was in bad black mud. We had some difficulty with it, but not much. Just beyond Prairiedell we went into wooded land and for four or five miles had good roads. About three or four miles out of Corn Hill we struck a very bad piece of black land, and we had another

experience in digging out. In going two miles we had to dig out three times. We tried an experiment that worked nicely. Each carriage had been provided with some bale wire. By slipping a piece above the nave-box close to a spoke and moving the wire along the spoke to the felly, then along the felly to the next spoke, then along the spoke back to the nave, the mud was cut out and could be pushed out of the wheel in big chunks. Even this was slow work and we were a long time getting over three miles. Here our wagon train failed to keep up with us, but did not get very far behind.

We got on high ground after a while and did not have much more trouble. At Corn Hill we camped in a nice pasture with firm turf, with water piped right to the camp ground. The little oil engine that pumped the town supply broke down, but the good citizens hastened to repair it. We were delighted that the weather and ground gave our animals a good chance to lie down and rest. Poor beasts, for several days they had not had such good fortune.

Thursday, Jan. 4th.

Corn Hill, Tex., to Georgetown, Tex.

Distance 14.4 miles.

Marching rate 3.1 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine.

After a good night's rest we started for Georgetown in good spirits. The morning was clear and cold, but this enabled us to get the better of the black land ahead of us. When we started the mud was frozen and we went over it. It was rough but not at all as bad as the sticky mud. The road was quite wide, and much of the time we kept on turf on the side of the road. After the first few miles we had a good road for a long distance. By the time we reached black soil again the wind and sun had dried it so much that it was spongy and did not pick up. In the whole day we did not pass through more than fifty yards of soft mud. We found an excellent place for our camp on the north fork of San Gabriel Creek, about three-fourths of a mile north of Georgetown. Trees for shelter, good firm turf, plenty of good clear water, all served to make the camp a good one.

Friday, Jan. 5th.

Georgetown, Tex., to Round Rock, Tex.

Distance 10.9 miles.

Marching rate 3.1 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine.

This was a short and really restful march. We got an early start, 7:14 A. M., and were in camp at Round Rock about 11 A. M.

The road was good, and the weather was delightful. We found another nice camp site on Lake Creek, a branch of Running Brushy Creek, south of town. There was plenty of water, but it was very muddy.

Saturday, Jan. 6th.

Round Rock, Tex., to Austin, Tex.

Distance 18.5 miles.

Marching rate 3.4 miles per hour.

Weather—Fine.

The short marches we had been taking recently and the good weather combined to rest our animals very much and they made this march in good shape. We got away from Round Rock soon after 7 A. M. and were in park at Austin, not far from the capitol, before 2 P. M.

The road was in very fair shape. After crossing Walnut Creek we had an excellent road all the way to Austin.

At Austin we found the citizens had opened both their hearts and their purses for us. Tables were spread and tent flies put up for a feast at our camp. Turkeys were being cooked for our men, and soon after 5 P. M. they sat down to a fine turkey dinner, with plates and cups, etc., which things they had not seen in many a day.

Our officers were also most kindly cared for. A reception was tendered us at the Austin Club, after which we were taken to a most elegant and delightful spread given us by the National Guard Officers at Austin. The feast was delicious both in conception and in consumption, and Mr. Drake, who so tastily arranged it, proved himself equal to his reputation as an epicure.

After our supper we were greatly shocked to learn of the death of Private Arthur L. Hall, of the battery. He had had a severe chill while we were at Round Rock the evening before and was promptly put on sick report under the doctor's care. During a portion of the day's march he was able to ride on the seat with the ambulance driver.

About 4 P. M. he had another chill and seemed sometimes delirious, sometimes in a comatose state. Arrangements were being made to forward him to Fort Sam Houston for treatment, when the doctor found him so ill that he deemed it best to send him to some hospital in Austin where he could get at once the treatment he needed and which it was impossible to give him in camp. Accordingly he was sent to Seaton Infirmary and cared for there. He died rather suddenly about 11:30 P. M.

The attending physician diagnosed his case as "acute malaria poisoning accompanied with congestive chill."

Again we were put under obligations to our National Guard friends, who willingly did all they could for us in this our time of trouble.

All necessary correspondence was attended to and the arrangements made for the funeral.

Sunday, Jan. 7th.

This day was spent at Austin. While awaiting the hour for the funeral of Private Hall, the battery was cleaned and oiled as well as practicable.

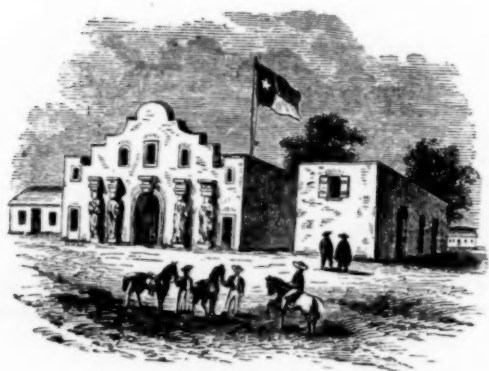
The proper funeral escort was detailed, and early in the afternoon the body of Private Hall was properly escorted to the depot, where the remains were shipped to San Antonio, Tex., for interment in the National Cemetery. The entire battery, except such as were necessarily detained at camp, attended this funeral ceremony.

One incident of this funeral must not go unmentioned. The men pledged a considerable sum for a nice casket and some flowers; and when the remains were viewed at the undertaker's there was found among the flowers purchased by the battery an extra bunch with the card of an Austin lady, bearing these words, "for his mother." Such thoughtfulness does not go unnoticed by the enlisted men, who do not in general get over much consideration from civilians.

Our thanks are due Adjutant-General Hulen, State of Texas, for the loan of a garrison flag to drape the casket and caisson; and also to S. E. Rosengren, the undertaker, who was most considerate in his dealings with us.

As to the death of this man, it is only fair to all concerned to report that, from what some of the men of the battery say, it is evident that he unnecessarily exposed himself during bad weather in the early part of the week in which he died.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



THE ALAMO.

LETTERS FROM EUROPE, 1828-29.*

FROM THE UNPUBLISHED MEMOIRS OF THE LATE LIEUT. JOHN FARLEY,
FIRST ARTILLERY.

IX.

I SHALL never forget the inspiring sensation of approaching Rome, the Ultima Thule of my wishes. When but a child I had an ardent desire to see this quondam mistress of the world—this Niobe of Nations! "Childless and crownless in her voiceless woe," and now that I was just about entering her portals and about to tread on ground that had so long been hallowed in imagination, and every foot of whose soil has become classic by its association with the renowned of antiquity, I could not help feeling a glow of supernatural enthusiasm; my soul was on the wing, and I felt already as if I were imbued with the spirit of past ages.

We were then passing over ground that had been trodden by Roman conquerors with their victorious legions.

We saw the sites of their luxurious villas and retreats of which scarcely any trace was left. We saw the Tiber rolling along, "*arva inter opima virum*," as it had done for ages—meandering among the scattered ruins of the deserted Campagna, and washing the bases of the remnants of Imperial Rome, on which the light modern architecture of pontifical Rome now rose in solemn mockery of its pristine splendor. Were I to expatiate upon all the varied feelings caused by each interesting object as they passed in review, I should undertake a task equally tiresome to myself as to the patience of others.

We crossed the Tiber at Ponta Molla, where Constantine the Great overthrew Maximines, and crossing the old Campus Martius entered the city by the ancient Porta Fluminia, now called the Porta del Popolo, on the left-hand side of the Hortulorum or Pincian Hill.

This part of the city is the most modern and beautiful, and its vicinity is built up with palaces and splendid hotels in the English style and may properly be called the English quarter. In the center of the square is an Egyptian obelisk found in the circus, around which were placed, during our stay at Rome, four Egyptian lions recumbent, of pure white marble, which spout as many fountains of water in a marble reservoir.

Proceeding through the grand street (the Corso) toward the custom-house, we were condemned to undergo a thorough search of our baggage.

This custom-house was once the temple of Marcus Aurelius, and displays the splendid entablature which rests on the shattered capitals

*Continued from July JOURNAL.

and shafts of eleven Corinthian pillars, which are seen half built into a wall or façade of modern structure.

From thence, having satisfied the inquisitorial rapacity of the leeches of his Holiness, we were set down without further molestation at the hotel, near the Piazza di Spagna, which, for a temporary residence, we found eligible and central.

ROME, November, 1828.

One of the first places which attracts the traveler when he arrives in Rome is that which in modern times is associated or identified with its religious or political character. As the rock on which Rome is now built—the Church of St. Peter—presents as conspicuous an aspect in its moral as in its natural horizon. This is the headquarters of Catholicism, and the regal throne of the Pope, whence issues the plenary indulgence of heaven, and thunders of anathema, which have made the thrones of earth tremble to their base. Go to St. Peter's if you wish to see all the magnificence and concentration of the Roman Catholic Church.

Kneel before the shrine which they tell you contains the ashes of the saint himself, or if you wish to be edified to the utmost with Catholicism, kiss the toe of Leo X himself.

For my own part I could not have the reverence for the Pantheon (one of the abodes of the gods) now that its niches are filled by the effigies of modern date and adorned by meretricious ornaments and filigree work.

But the temple of St. Peter is decidedly one of the "world's wonderments," and is said to be superior to the Temple of Solomon itself. (From the view I have seen of that temple I think this architecture more beautiful and chaste.) In advancing toward St. Peter's, we cannot judge of its stupendousness, having no buildings, as has St. Paul's, around it with which it may be compared.

It stands in such an extensive area that its noble façade, which is only seen, is dwindled into the apparent size of an ordinary church, and on that account you should enter it to be properly impressed with its vastness and grandeur.* Two semicircular colonnades on each wing enclose a spacious elliptical arcade of several acres (if I judge aright by the deceptive eye) and sweep around, in columns of four deep and sixty in height, forming a noble amphitheater in the center of which is an Egyptian obelisk, flanked by two beautiful fountains.

This structure has been much criticized—but that of course. I leave its faults to those caviling *dilettante*, especially the English, who think Sir Christopher Wren a nonpareil and Michael Angelo a mere pretender.

* "Enter: its grandeur overwhelms thee not;

And why? it is not lessen'd; but thy mind, expanded by the genius of the spot, has grown colossal."—Byron.

Enter the portico and judge for yourself of the fine perspective and the effect of the equestrian statues of Charlemagne and Constantine the Great.

As I have not the talent of a cicerone I would leave the treasures of the church and those of the thousand halls of the Vatican to those ponderous tomes, which alone can do any justice to that which almost beggars description. If in the course of my memoranda I should touch upon any of them, it will be only those which I would not or could not forget.

The taste of the best artists and the talent of several centuries have been lavished with unsparing hand upon the ornaments and construction of this church.

It is said to be "decked in the various splendor which the labor of ages, the wealth of kingdoms, the spoils of ancient times and the proudest inventions of modern times have combined to furnish." All this is true, and the arrangement of these is such as to satisfy the most fastidious taste of those who have a correct conception of the magnificent and the grand.

There is little of that trifling detail, that meretricious display, that fretwork of labored sculpture or any of that gloomy and somber imposition of Gothic work which generally characterizes Catholic churches. This imposes not upon the superstitious fears, but rather elevates the soul in admiration by its nobleness, its vastness and magnificence. What it wants in the somber melancholy character which commands a religious awe is made up by the impressive grandeur of everything in this stupendous edifice, where all is made to harmonize with grace, elegance and refinement.

Many find fault with this as unsuited to the solemnity of worship, but if such love darkness better than light, they will find abundance of dark nooks in every quarter of this city where they may pursue their devotions before the numerous shrines which were erected for the especial benefit of the devotees.

Every part of St. Peter's is intended to be on the same proportionate scale of magnificence, and the great dome which forms the center of the Latin cross is within two feet of the diameter of the colossal Pantheon.

Michael Angelo, when he designed it, is known to have had this in mind, and said that he intended to erect a Pantheon in the clouds. This he has literally done. The costly mosaics which embellish the naves of this church are copied from some of the *chef d'œuvres* of Raphael, and have been the labor of years.

X

ROME, December 17, 1828.

I have just been to the church of St. Peter to witness the ceremony of the appointment of cardinals by the Pope. Four successive nights,

previous to the appointed day, the whole city was illuminated. The numerous palaces and churches were most conspicuous in the general blaze. The former showed to great advantage on account of their magnificent architecture.

Their colonnades, balustrades and large windows, lighted with variegated lamps, had a most magnificent and enchanting splendor.

The churches also displayed literally a glorious appearance, the colonnades, the fretwork, etc., resembling one sheet of fire, and the steeples and cupolas were studded with lamps to their very summit.

Few, I think, can equal the Romans in such exhibitions. They have a great deal of taste in this respect from habit and so much national pride that the merest beggar would starve himself for days to honor the Virgin with candles on such occasions.

In front of the palaces of each of the newly elected cardinals, bands of music were playing each night and crowds of citizens were there assembled or passing to and fro, to visit each of their palaces in turn. The excitement of these scenes is very great and to witness them we would conclude that the Romans were the happiest people on earth.

One of the cardinals, I understand, expended \$24,000.

I am told that the carnival surpasses all this, and am extremely desirous to remain here until it takes place, but shall be prevented as it occurs in the last week in February, at which time I must be in Naples. When the ceremony was performed a great concourse assembled at St. Peter's, or rather in one of the chapels of the Vatican adjoining. The persons admitted were chiefly foreigners who have usually more curiosity for these things than have the citizens.

The cardinals, about thirty in number, were seated on each side of the avenue to the pontifical throne, habited in white robes, with their venerable gray heads surmounted by small red cardinals' hats, presenting a singular and imposing effect.

After waiting some time, the Pope entered by a side door of the chapel, ascended his throne and graciously extending his hand by way of benediction, seated himself and prepared to receive the homage which was paid to him. Each of the cardinals, in the order of rank, ascended the steps of the throne, knelt and kissed the robe which covered his hand, bowed to his *confrères* and retired perfectly self-complacent after this ceremony.

My position gave me an excellent opportunity of perusing the features of the Santissimo Padre. After the preamble was read, the novices were introduced. Each one knelt successively and kissed the foot of the Pope, and having been covered for a few moments with a black mantle in the kneeling position, a certain form of service was read over them by his Holiness and they were then received into his indulgent embrace and in this manner the ceremony was ended.

The best part of the spectacle, perhaps, for those who are fond

of pageantry, was the show of magnificent equipages that were paraded on this occasion.

Nothing could well be superior to those of the Pope and the cardinal princes. The gilding of their carriages and the trappings of their beautiful horses resembled the richness of massive gold, and a crowd of servants and *poursuivants* in costly liveries made altogether a most brilliant affair. On Christmas there was a further ceremony in honor of our Saviour's birth—at the Chiesa Santa Maria Mag-



giore, on which occasion they claim to show the cradle in which he was nursed and the manger in which he was born.

XI

ROME, November 26, 1828.

I called to-day on Forlonia, Duke of Bracciano, who is my banker, and delivered my letters of credit, and have just received an invitation to their *soirée* to-morrow evening. "The Duke and Duchess of Bracciano request the honor of your company to-morrow evening at their palace." This sounds strangely to my American ear. However, I will go, if it be only to see something of Italian society.

XII

ROME, January 10, 1829.

A few evenings since we received an invitation to a party at the Gabrielli Palace, where it was expected the celebrated singer, David,

would be, and also the Countess Guiccioli, the mistress of Lord Byron.

The Princess Gabrielli is a daughter of Lucian Bonaparte. The expectation of hearing David attracted a crowd of the English nobility, but they were disappointed. The Countess Guiccioli is not handsome. She may have been pretty in her younger days. I did not seek an introduction, though my friend did so and was much pleased with her conversation and manners.

Last Sunday evening a splendid concert was given at the palace of Il Marchese, by the dilettanti; the piece was *Semiramide*, and full justice was done to Rossini, by a choir of about forty singers and as many musicians.

Without any adventitious scenery or performance, the effect was very fine.

We dined with our English friend, Darwin, yesterday in company with about fourteen young English gentlemen, and I was pleased to find so much good feeling manifested by them toward our country. They were inquisitive in their questions respecting it and frequently remarked how little the English knew of our institutions. At present there are many Americans in Rome, but not being so numerous as the English, their society is more sought by the Italians.

I have taken pleasure among other amusements of visiting the different kinds of society at this place. The parties to which I have before referred presented a mixture of all national characters of this continent. But a party I lately attended at the Signora Fivorini's displayed Italian manners more conspicuously; that is to say, it was a strange mixture of the beautiful with the ridiculous and luxury with discomfort.

The two daughters have attained wonderful perfection in music and drawing, so much so that they are unrivaled by anyone in miniature painting and on the piano.

The miniatures of the eldest are the best and rarest specimens of the kind I have ever seen, and the performances of the youngest "signorine" surpass any music I have heard.

Yet, unfortunately, they are too homely to excite admiration in any other respect. On going to the house we met the *padrone*, their father, who ushered us up a narrow and dirty stone staircase into a very ordinary apartment, lighted badly by a single candle placed upon a piano, which threw its dull light upon the faces of the guests who were ranged around the walls of a badly furnished room with a stone floor. This floor was of tiles, without any carpet, and had been worn in a deep circular furrow by continual waltzing. There was no cheerful blazing fire as at the other winter parties we had attended, and everything was cold and comfortless, except our reception, which was warm enough.

Instead of a blazing hearth, however, there was a large kettle of coals with a few embers in it, in the middle of the apartment, and

each of the ladies held in their laps a small kettle of coals, called a *scaldino* or *marito*—the latter term signifying husband; a custom which has a singular appearance to an American. The young ladies played and sang, assisted by several gentlemen amateurs, among whom was a young marquis, whose chief endowment was in drawing exquisite sounds from the violin. Of their talents the mother of these young ladies had good reason to be proud, and took great satisfaction, consequently, in showing them off. But she was hideously ugly, and the daughters had come honestly by their share of the family failing. They had, notwithstanding, all that urbanity and grace of the Italian women, and made their guests perfectly at home. At the conclusion of the evening they got up many plays and dances peculiar to their country and among others exhibited for our amusement the dances of the peasantry of the Campagna.

I was persuaded to join them, but with a partner as unsatisfactory to me as my sins of the last year. The evening, however, passed off very pleasantly.*

On Sunday last there was an exhibition, altogether novel to me, at the Pontifical College of the Propaganda Fide—an institution created under the auspices of Urban VIII for the reception of young Asiatics and Africans, who were intended to disseminate the Catholic religion in those countries. Thirty-one discourses were delivered in about as many different languages; the scholars being selected from the most intelligent youths of their respective nations, generally speaking, did justice to their parts.

Judging by the ear, and a slight knowledge of several of the languages, I had a good opportunity of comparing their euphony and harmony. So great was the attraction that the house was crowded to overflow, but by good fortune I obtained an excellent seat.

The recitation in German was admirable, and called forth reiterated bursts of applause and the most enthusiastic acclamation.

I had never before had a conception of the richness and copiousness of this language. The English was recited badly by an Irishman who rehearsed a poem on Liberty—yet, notwithstanding, it came in second for its share of praise.

The Latin had full justice done it by an *eclogue* in imitation of Virgil. There was perfect music in the sound, with the soft Italian pronunciation. The whole brought forcibly to mind those lines which I had so often conned over and which seemed now to apply to myself;

"Et qua tanta, fuit Romani tibi causa vivendi?"

My old traveling friend, Tionchscoffski the Pole was sitting beside me when the English was about to be rehearsed, and he whispered. "Maintenant! écoutez à la langue Arabe." But what was his

*The phraseology of the above letter is not altered, but one or two sentences have been transposed.—EDITOR.

mortification on hearing his own language, when its turn came. It was most barbarously treated by a young Dalmatian. The Sunday preceding this, these scholars had attended mass at this place in the costumes of their respective nations. Cardinal Fetch, the uncle of Napoleon, was present at this exhibition.

One of the greatest sources of amusement is visiting the galleries of the Vatican and the studios of painters and sculptors. Thorwaldsen is considered the best sculptor of this day and next to Canova in his designs. Treutamore is next in merit, and Camuccini is the best Italian painter.

I have become acquainted with Mr. Cook, an American artist who possesses uncommon talent and through his means have been invited to the English Academy.

The Vatican is an inexhaustible fund of amusement and interest as well as the Gallery of the Capitol, for in these depots of the Arts are preserved the most valuable antiques that have been found among the baths, palaces, villas and monuments of the emperors. The treasures of temples, monuments, etc., of Italy, Greece and Egypt have been assembled here to shelter them from the invasions of Time, and are arranged on the most judicious and magnificent scale.

The productions of Greece and Rome, when the Arts were in their highest perfection, may be here seen, and the amateur and antiquary are astonished, and I may almost say, satiated, by this overwhelming multitude of beautiful and admirable objects. No one, I am confident, could well undertake the task of describing such numerous objects as present themselves.

It would be the labor of more than man's brief portion of existence. Antiquaries find themselves puzzled even to ascertain the origin of some of the most remarkable ruins in Rome, much less to give a local habitation to its minor curiosities, and this difficulty increases daily.

Rome has been, in fact, essentially different in different ages and under different governments; and there are perhaps as many layers of Rome as there have been centuries since its foundation. Ancient Rome is sunk fifteen or twenty feet below the modern surface, and it is necessary to excavate to that depth to find the foundations of the monuments of the Imperial City.*

Last evening the report that the celebrated star of the Italian stage (David) was to perform, tempted me to the opera, and I have occasion to repeat to you the remarks I made on the previous performance.

As yet I cannot say that I have found much to please me on the Italian boards, except the perfection of the ballet of Milan and that is truly inimitable.

* "While Fancy brings the vanished piles to view
And builds imaginary Rome anew."

XIII

ROME, January 16, 1829.

You will have rather a dearth of interesting matter in this letter, since I have not been out much recently, on account of the inclemency of the weather, to gather any material for your amusement.

Frequent rains in this climate occur, instead of the snows of winter in the corresponding latitudes of our country, and the weather is rendered extremely fickle by the prevailing winds. There are two kinds of winds which are very frequent here. The tramontana, or winds from the mountainous and snowy ridge of the Apennines, are as cold and chilly as our March winds, and are suddenly followed by warm and enervating winds from the south (from Africa), called the sirocco.

To-day, however, I have been in the Forum, and though now mid-winter, the warmth of the sun's rays was quite pleasant. The day before yesterday Mr. Fessenden rode with a party to some gardens beyond the Tiber or the Travestere, as it is called, and described his excursion as so delightful that I regretted not having accepted an invitation to join them.

These gardens belong to the Doria princes, adjacent to one of their palaces. He spoke in glowing terms of the beauty of its walks, statuary and fountains; the fragrance of the orange groves, and its multitude of flowers. From among them I have selected a few violets not of spring, but of winter, to send to you.

Speaking of Travestere, it may not be amiss to explain the term, which signifies that quarter which is separated from the main body of the city by the Tiber. The inhabitants are called the Travestere, and pretend that they are lineal descendants from the ancient Romans. In this fancied nobility even the poorest of them take so much pride that they consider it an indelible disgrace to be allied to any other Roman or foreigner.

An anecdote is related of a wealthy and respectable German who addressed the daughter of a poor barber. The reply of the mother was to this effect: "No! were *my* daughter to cherish so disgraceful a thought as that of marrying a foreigner, a *barbarian*! I should not scruple to plunge a dagger into her heart."

During the last week we ascended to the top of the cupola of St. Peter's, which is not accomplished without considerable effort, but which amply repays for the trouble by the extensive view it affords of the city, the Campagna and the Mediterranean.

The church besides being situated on rising ground (Mount Janiculum) is upward of 450 feet high, and was to be seen from the road as we approached the city, when we were at a distance of forty miles, so from this one may judge that it overlooks an immense tract of country. The day was clear, and being in the afternoon the sun cast

his rays in such a manner as to throw a dark shade on the ruins on our right and give an unusually brilliant coloring to the masses of clouds, which were piled like "Ossa on Pelion" above the snowy mountains on our left.

Toward the Mediterranean the pure atmosphere of an Italian sky contrasted finely with the deep blue color of the distant sea, which hemmed in about a fourth of the horizon. We could now trace the walls of Rome throughout their whole extent—now rising in full relief on the summits of hills and displaying their threatening turrets on some cliff, and then sinking into the valleys. Now fording the waves of the yellow Tiber and then more tamely stretching across the level plain.

This immense wall encompasses a large portion of that quarter of the city which was once ancient Rome, and contained about four millions of people. Nothing is here to be seen in this now quite deserted section but heaps of decayed monuments, temples, baths, arches and aqueducts, formerly the pride and wonder of the world. This desert solitude presents at present the melancholy aspect of a sepulcher, and such it may literally be called. The dust of the millions of human beings who peopled this soil is now incorporated with it and scarcely a stone remains the monument of their existence. Generation after generation have successively sprung up, lived for a while, passed away, and are now forgotten. What a comment on the mutability of human affairs. What are now the fruits of that ambition which incited them? Of what avail, the heroic dust on which we tread, is that fame for which they struggled? What remains now of all these? Perhaps not even a name.

In tracing the serpentine windings of the Tiber in its course through the level Campagna to where it falls into the Mediterranean, and looking across the Apennines, we see here and there around their base the white walls of the neighboring small cities, linked together by a few scattered villas and rustic hamlets. The eye when allowed full scope of vision naturally rests on the most distant objects, and then returns fatigued from the exertion to those which are nearer and more distinct.

Rome lies beneath the spectator the shadow of what it was in its imperial glory narrowed and shrunk into a small compass, leaving its useless walls where its inflated greatness once placed them; resembling the skeleton of a giant shriveled within its armor now no longer available.

The defenses of Rome, or those perhaps of Troy, could not resist a ten days' siege in modern warfare. A twenty-four pounder in those days would have deprived us of Virgil's description of the ten years' siege—dispensed with the operations of the ballista and the Trojan horse—and a well sprung mine in the penetralia of Priam's palace would have created more confusion in his household than all the

bands of Pyrrhus and effectually have prevented the establishment of the Penates on the Lavinian shore.

From this conspicuous situation were to be seen the most magnificent antiquities in the world, and the most beautiful edifices of modern construction.

Among the former were the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the Temple of Peace and the Tomb of Adrian, with columns, triumphal arches, monuments, obelisks, etc. The spires of numerous churches, some of which were formerly temples to the profane gods, are seen in every quarter of the city.

The Catholic religion, in expelling the heathen deities from their seats, has erected in their niches the altars of its saints. The celebrated Pantheon of the Gods is now dedicated to the Virgin. Bacchanalian vases and tripods subserve the purpose of baptismal fonts, and receptacles of the *aqua-santa*, and even the bronze statue of Jupiter Capitolinus is bowed down to by every true Catholic.

No description of the Church of St. Peter can convey to the mind the adequate idea of its surpassing magnificence, it must be seen, but not described.

XIV

ROME, January 29.

As this is the last time I shall write from this place, I will give you a brief sketch of my occupation recently. We shall set out for Naples a week hence and probably will be there by the 9th of next month and remain one or two weeks. I have every reason to be pleased with my winter at Rome, satisfied that there is no place in Europe which could have afforded me more fruitful sources of instruction and amusement.

To-day we visited the studio of Thorwaldsen and Trentanove, with whose works we were much delighted. In the department of sculpture these eminent men stand unrivaled in the Roman schools.

The Chevalier Thorwaldsen, a Dane by birth, is pre-eminent since the demise of Canova (a brilliant star after the setting sun!) and is "universally admitted to be the best sculptor now in Europe." He is particularly celebrated for his bassi-relievi, of which he has executed a great number which surpass even those of Canova.

The most celebrated one of the kind is the triumph of Alexander, made for the King of Denmark. Of this splendid performance he has made several copies. Another superb work is his basso-relievo intended to adorn the tomb of a private gentleman of Frankfort.

His statue of Pope Pius VII is a noble and much admired work. His Venus is the most beautiful subject of the kind I have seen, and *malgré* the opinion of the world, I admired it infinitely more than the Venus de Medici.* There was a perfection in its recent finish, and in

*Forest at Tivoli and supposed to be a copy of the Venus of Cnidus by Praxiteles.

the immaculateness of the pure white marble that gave it a peculiar charm. A bust of Byron, reputed to be the most faithful representation of him extant, ought to be recollected.

Trentwood I had the good fortune to become well acquainted with, from his partiality to our countrymen, he being an enthusiast with regard to everything American. By connoisseurs he is considered inferior to none but Thorwaldsen; his copies and busts are very beautiful, though his conceptions are not extraordinary. His bust of Washington and the Apollo Belvidere are all that I now recall.



In one corner of his studio was the recumbent nude statue of Pauline, which is very beautiful, and in its posture reminds me of the Hermaphrodite (Ermafrodito). Next to Thorwaldsen—*proximo sed longo intervallo*—is Mr. Gibson, who has executed many works of merit, so say the dilettanti, but as I saw none of his productions I can say no more about him. Mr. Greenough, an American, is said to be a good sculptor. Mr. Rennie (*Anglais*) is also quite celebrated.

While I am speaking of sculptors, I may as well mention one or two of the most conspicuous painters, very few of whom have attained the excellence of the masters of the Italian school. Carmuccini is considered the best Roman painter of the day, and his gallery furnished me a rich treat.

His sculptural pieces are much esteemed, and in demand by the first churches of Italy. His illustrations of Roman history are excellent, and have furnished splendid subjects for the engraver, but his coloring is not thought to be good.

Severn, the English artist, I became acquainted with. He has considerable merit, and some of his performances are considered excellent. His last piece, executed for Prince Leopold, represents a group of Italian peasants at a Roman fountain, painted after the style of Raphael and executed in a masterly manner.

Prince Leopold, who is himself an artist, is said to be highly pleased with the performance. He intends to exhibit it in the next London summer exhibition of 1829. I ought to pay a passing and deserved tribute to the talents of one of our own artists, Mr. Cook. He has attained considerable reputation among the students and artists of the English Academy at Rome. He gives grounds to hope that he may

one day be an ornament to our country. His copy of the "Transfiguration" by Raphael possesses great merit, especially in coloring.

He has expressed a determination to visit all those places where are to be found the *chef d'œuvres* of the best ancient masters for the purpose of copying them.

Through his means I was admitted in the Academy, where I had the satisfaction of seeing the study of the human figure. This is an interesting exhibition. The room is usually darkened, and the artists are arranged in a semi-circle, each with his lamp and drawing desk. The person, whether male or female, is placed in the center of this group and made to assume any attitude upon which the majority will determine. The light is then admitted from a lamp above the person, so as to show all the developments of the figure—its muscles, action, attitude, etc., and its brilliant points. Each one has a different aspect or point of view, and the sculptors make their clay models at the same time.

It would be doing injustice to my own taste and feelings, as well as to the extraordinary merit of the artist, were I to omit paying a just tribute to the talents of an artist who has given me more exquisite delight than any other.

His name is Seguira, a Portuguese, whose modesty prevents his being sufficiently known. This morning, January 10th, we found a little party, consisting of Mr. Cook and his lady, Mr. Chapman, Mr. Fessenden and myself, and went to his rooms to pay him a visit. The first subject he showed us was the "Adoration of the Magi."

This subject was treated in a masterly style, and for *breadth, depth and sublimity surpassed anything of the kind I ever witnessed.*

The effect of light and shade and the brilliancy and transparency of its coloring were inimitable. I shall never forget the impression it made on all of us, and the artist Cook was enraptured with it.

The light was introduced in a novel and supernatural manner. The blaze of the comet ("the star of Bethlehem,") was seen in the background, and lit up the countenance of the Virgin and Child with an unearthly refulgence, while it showed with rich luster upon the Oriental costume—the caparisoned steeds and camels, and the costly gifts of the Magi. Each group formed a study of itself, and nothing was wanting in general effect by the minuteness of detail. A second finished picture represented the Crucifixion, on whose merits too much praise cannot be lavished. While the other possesses the sublimity of light, this depicted the awful sublimity of the darkness of that great event. He has felt all its truth and described it inimitably well.

His third picture, which represents the Resurrection, rises still higher in the scale of the sublime, and the fourth, which represents the day of judgment, is a still loftier flight of his genius. In this he shows the heavens and the earth passing away before the Sun of Righteousness, and the Son of Man coming from the right hand of the Father

to judge the quick and the dead. Never have I seen a more brilliant conception, nor can I imagine a bolder or loftier flight. To convey an adequate idea of the whole human race standing expectant of the justice of the eternal behest conveyed through the mediation of the Saviour; the heavens opening and disclosing the penetralia of the universe, and the throne of the Deity, is a task seemingly too great for the powers of man. But he has gone beyond expectation. There seems to be a deep dread and awful pause in all nature, and a consciousness of the presence of the Divinity in it. The breathless suspense and calm that precedes the earthquake, as if that time in Revelation had arrived where "there was silence in Heaven." The hosts of heaven and earth are arrayed the one above the other, and a benign light seems to be shed over everything by the glory which emanates from the inmost and profound depths of the Eternal Throne.

But I shall be considered as an enthusiast or a wild admirer of Seguira were I to dilate further upon the pleasing reminiscence, and therefore I will proceed with our party to the rooms of Severn, whom I have before mentioned, and those of Turner, whom I forgot to mention as the Claude Loraine of the English. The latter has certainly some merit from his affectation of Claude's style of Italian scenery, but certainly has no merit from his own affectation of fiery coloring with which he has destroyed the first merit. Turner's pieces consequently look well when engraved, for then his unnatural coloring is suppressed. Leaving his rooms we proceeded homeward by the Monte Cavallo, anciently the Quirinal hill, on which is the palace of the Pope.

The hill receives its name from two statues, both of which represent a young man holding a horse (rampant). They are said to have been rival works of Phidias and Praxiteles, which is inferred from the inscriptions on their pedestals. The house of the Scipios was upon this hill, and the baths of Constantine and Diocletian.

The Capitoline Hill—this is replete with interest, and may be considered the early nucleus of ancient Rome, together with near neighbor the Palatine, between which the Ratto du Sabini took place. It is said to have derived its name from the discovery of a human head, said to be that of Olius (whence Caput Olius), while digging the foundation of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the right hand as you ascend the steps of the Campidolio is Monte Capriccio, on which the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was built by Romulus, where the *opima spolia* were deposited, and also on the same side is the Tarpeian Rock; on the left hand is the Church of Ara Coli, on the site of the Temple of Capitoline Ione, and in front is the present senate house.

This interesting place was one of my favorite resorts, and I generally crossed it on my way to the Forum and Colosseum. On ascending the Scala Cordinata, the figures on the balustrades, said to be those of Castor and Pollux, are seen on each side of the Scala, and in

the center of the quadrangle, called the inter-montium, the beautiful bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius arrests and fixes our attention. The figure of Aurelius, *bien pose*, sits gracefully on his horse with a roll or baton in his hand, and as was the custom, without spurs.

The whole is so well managed that it seems as if he were urging his horse from off the pedestal, and Michael Angelo, when he first saw it, was so struck with this, that he enthusiastically exclaimed, "Go on" (*camino*).

One of my earliest associations with the Capitoline Hill was the Tarpeian Rock, and it was among the first places sought out, as we would seek an old acquaintance in a strange city, preparatory to being initiated into *agremens*. Relying on our guide, Madame Starke, whom we did not always find infallible, we went to a certain number (29, I believe), on Monte Caprino. Over the door of a mean, ill-looking house, we saw the words Rocca Tarpeia, and the passage led by a flight of dirty stairs to what, for a few *baocchi*, they, the wretched inhabitants, will give their affidavit is the legitimate Tarpeian Rock, although the most learned antiquarians of the day are very doubtful of its location. As you are housed by a few miserable walls and see nothing of the rock or its form you have only the satisfaction of being told for your money and your pains that you are standing on the identical rock.

But as I was not satisfied with this information, I determined to visit another spot behind the Palazzo de' Conservatori, which had been pointed out to me by my friend, Mr. Cook.

Accordingly, making a short detour, I found myself very soon at the extremity of the courtyard of this palace, and looking down over the parapet wall I saw that I was standing upon the summit of a high rock or precipice, of which this wall made a kind of coping. I was convinced immediately, in my own mind, that this was the identical Tarpeian Rock, and wished no antiquarian research to confirm my conviction. I then descended, by a kind of lane, of its base, in order to have a better view of it. It was known to be on the western side of the Capitoline Hill and near to the Tiber, and the Gauls, doubtless, made their attack in this quarter. Besides, this is the most precipitous part, and one from which criminals might have been thrown with certain destruction. The present height is between fifty and sixty feet by admeasurement, although the ruins and fallen tufo at its base is heaped up for perhaps twenty feet.

The high walls of the citadel, together with the original height of the rock, before this rubbish was accumulated by earthquakes and decay, must have been an appalling precipice.

While I was engaged in drawing this in my sketch-book I heard some voices on the parapet above me, and looking up I saw my friend Cook, the artist, and his wife who had pointed out this place to me, and I

saw by his smiles that he was much gratified by my coinciding with him in opinion.

He called out to me that "he was pleased to see that I not only agreed with him in opinion, but that I was following his example"; he having previously sketched it from this same position himself.

I had leisure to visit this spot several times, and included it among my parting visits the evening before I left Rome, whose antiquities I could not leave without a sensation of regret at the prospect of never again revisiting them. The treachery of Tarpeia and the unnatural death of Maneius recurred strongly to memory.

I was then on the spot where they had fallen, and had trod upon the site of his house, which had been razed to the ground after his execution, and my fancy repeople this spot once more with the hordes of the Gauls from whose barbarity the capital was saved by the sacred geese.

The Intermontium is inclosed on three sides by the palaces of the conservators and the senators and the Capitoline Museum; the senators' palace stands on an ancient foundation of peperino stone, supposed to be the tabularium built by Scylla.

But where, we ask, is the once proud Roman senate? Where are the spirits which once inspired its councils and fired the breasts of ancient Romans?

Shades of Cicero, Brutus and Cato—where have they fled? They have gone, and with them the pride and glory of Rome. Oh, Rome how art thou fallen! The Roman senate as it now exists scarce deserves that once honored name!

As we descend to the Forum on the right of the Capitol by the *centro gradus*, we are assailed by the cries and importunities of the miserable wretches who are confined within the prisons on this side. Descending the steps leading by the Ave of Septimus Severus we enter the Roman Forum at the extremity of the Via Sacra. But we will stop *en passant* to look into the little chapel on our left, at the foot of the hill, where at stated hours are seen crowds of humble devotees crossing themselves and counting their beads.

We are naturally led to ask why this humble shrine*, which is almost beneath the ground, is such a resort. This is the celebrated Mamertine Prison, in which St. Peter and St. Paul, according to the inscription, were imprisoned. The pillar he was chained to in the "innermost" dungeon, by order of Nero, is shown, as well as the "acqua vera" with which he baptized the forty converts. This prison was founded by Aneus Martius. In this were also confined the conspirators of Cataline. Jugurtha, Perseus and Sejanus. It was formerly entered on the upper side by the Scala Gemonia, not unlike the Ponte de' Sosperti at Venice.

*San Pietro in Careiro.

The Roman Forum*. This I would mention here, but the wilderness of interesting ruins which it contains would occupy some space were they described as they should be. The Arch of Septimius Severus is the first that we met before entering the line of the old Via Sacra.

The French have disinterred the base, which was buried perhaps ten or fifteen feet below the present surface. Considering the time which has elapsed since these edifices were built they are in better condition than could be expected, and they furnish a surprising example of the perfection and durability of the work of the Roman emperors in the earliest stage of the empire. Erected as they were, many of them as far back as the Christian era, we could scarcely expect to find more than their sites, but here we see many of these monuments, the pride and magnificence of Imperial Rome, maintaining their original loftiness almost triumphant over decay.

The yet standing columns of the porticos of temples remain as landmarks to point out to the antiquary the true sites of most of the principal buildings, which once adorned this abode of the arts.

This is the Roman Forum, where Romulus and Remus were miraculously preserved; where they conceived the plan of building a city, which they knew not was to become the law-giver of the world.

Here was the scene of the Rape of the Sabines, and here the temple said to have been erected to Jupiter by Romulus on the identical spot.

On one side we see the remains of the Temple of Romulus, built upon the spot where stood the *Ficus Ruminales*, under which the twins were suckled, and on the other hand we see the Temple Remus, buried beneath the present level, so deep that its dome serves now as the entrance or vestibule of a modern church.

Here was the bronze wolf, said by Cicero to have been struck with lightning, and shown with its fracture in the Conservator's palace.

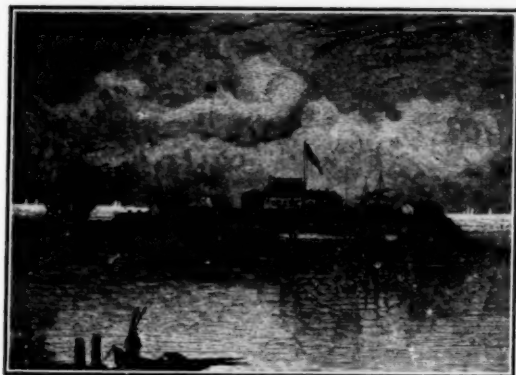
Here we may stand upon the ground upon which heroes and statesmen, and poets and philosophers, have once trod; upon the sites of the rostrum, which once witnessed the eloquence of Tully; upon the spot where stood the tribunal of Appius, before which the fœcal knife of Virginus, reeking with the chaste blood of his daughter, proclaimed the emancipation of the innocent from the brutality of the tyrant.

But we look in vain for the abyss that engulfed the devoted and patriotic Curtius among the numerous excavations which have been made here to discover the ancient level and bases of temples.

The whole Forum, as well as the celebrated Via Sacra, are now twenty feet below the present degenerate sod, which now goes by the ignominious appellation of the Campo Vaccino, or Field of Cows.

*"Magnum Forum" by Ovid.





CASTLE WILLIAMS (BOSTON HARBOR).

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF A REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT.*

CONTRIBUTED BY COLONEL JOHN H. CALEF, U. S. ARMY.†

II.

- Dec. 8, 1775.* Bot. cloth for great coat.
 10. Recd. \$68 ration money. Pd. Hyde for Oliver's coat, blanket, sundry articles, & a pair of long breeches.
 11. Finished the fortification on Cobble Hill.
 12. Began the causeway at Lechmere Neck.
 13. Began the covered-way to Lechmere Hill. Col. Glover's regt. and Capt. Foster's Co. of the train, marched for Marblehead on hearing of 3 Men-of-War lying at that place. Bot. a watch for £8.
 14. Worked on Lechmere Pt. Went in P.M. to Dorchester Pt. to see the *measure* for blowing up the shipping, but as it was not finished it was not launched.
 15. Came from Dorchester & went to Lechmere Pt. to work. Recd. a letter from Jessie Cutter. Oliver's shirts and the geese arrived from Brookfield (his home).
 16. Staked out the Fort on Lechmere Pt.
 17. Went to work on Lechmere Pt. It was very foggy and when it cleared away, we had a very heavy fire from the ships‡ and Boston, but through Divine goodness, we received but little damage. Abel Wood was wounded in the thigh.
 18. Went down to Lechmere & wrote Mr. Forbes.
 19. Went upon Lechmere Pt. to work. A no. of shot & shell were thrown from Bunker Hill & Boston at us and at Cobble Hill. Many of the shot lodged in our breastworks, and some of the bombs broke high in the air and too near our works, but no mischief was done.
 20. Went to Lechmere Pt. We recd. a no. of 24 pd. shot from Boston

*Col. Jeduthan Baldwin of the Engineers, Continental Army 1775-1779 (Continued from July Journal.)

†Great-great-grandson of Col. Baldwin.

‡British.

in our breastworks, and others went over in a direct line and hit the wall. Several bombs burst in the air. One was thrown from Bunker Hill into Cambridge by Phinney's regt. (13 inches). It did not break. Went to see Abel Wood and found him comfortable. Bot. cup & glass-ware for 7/6d.

21. To Lechmere Pt. and Watertown. Very cold. The enemy did not fire at us.

22. At home. Recd. Betsey's (his daughter) letter. Wrote Dr. H.

23. To Lechmere Pt. Wore Gen. Putnam's great-coat. Maj. Durkee went home with Capt. Waterman & Lieut. Brigham.

24. Lord's Day. Very snowy & cold. Cut down the Orchard at Lechmere Pt. and laid the trees around the Fort. Had 4 oxen drowned coming off ye Point.

25. Very cold day. Dind. with Gen. Putnam. Went to Lechmere Pt. at sunset & then went to Gen. Washington's in the evening. Found and skinned ye 4 drowned oxen.

26. Went to Lechmere and laid a platform for the great mortar, & worked at the bridge. Day fair & extremely cold. Dined with Gen. Washington & lady.

27. To Watertown. Col. Comings lodgd. with me.

28. Finished the bridge, and 2 platforms in ye lower bastions.

29. Laid one platform for a mortar in ye lower bastion, and a platform for a cannon in ye upper bastion at Lechmere Pt. Cold.

30. Cut out 2 embrasures at Lechmere Pt. A no. of guns heard off at sea. Supposed to be ships coming in, or privateers engaged.

31. Lord's Day. Rain. No fatigue. Went to meeting. Mr. Leonard preached from Exodus III, 10 v.

Janr. 1st, 1776.—The old troops went off, & left the lines bare in some parts. Cold.

2. Made a plan of the fortifications at Lechmere Pt. Warm pleasant day.

3. Went with 40 men to work at Lechmere. To Watertown in P.M. Warm pleasant day.

4. To Lechmere Pt. Cast the embrasures.

5. Went to the Half Moon Battery at Inman's Pt. Pleasant day.

6. To Lechmere's & Inman's Points. Windy.

7. Lord's Day. Work at the circular battery on Inman's Pt. and cut out the obtuse embrasures in the upper bastion on Lechmere. Threw down the stone wall there & took a plan of Cobble Hill Fort.

8. Finished the Circular Battery at Inman's Pt., and worked with 100 men at Lechmere Pt. Laid out the W. redoubt in the corner of the orchard. Maj. Knowlton with a no. of officers & men, crosst the mill-dam to Charlestown and burnt 8 houses & other buildings there, which made a great light. Left only 6 houses standing.

9. Began on W. redoubt on Lechmere Pt. Rain, clearing off, very cold at night, with very high wind.

10. Had 5 teams carting sods. Laid them in the new works. Cased the embrasures in the upper redoubt and raised the epaulments there. This day exceedingly cold & windy.

11. Worked at Lechmere. Drew in the abatis. Broke ground for the new work. Finished laying out the work with stones. Rain & snow & very cold.

12th Jan., 1776. Workt at Lechmere Pt. Had 100 riflemen to work with us & 200 from Prospect Hill. Found the ground frozen very hard,

generally a foot thick. The oxen workt very well this day. Raw, cold, chilly wind. Col. Mifflin gave me a quire of paper to draw plans on.

13. Workt at Lechmere Pt. Had 4 teams carting sods. Laid out 2 embrasures in the W. redoubt. Capt. Dyer and Lieut. Gray joined us.

14. Lord's Day. Worked at Lechmere Pt. Breakfasted and supt. with Gen. Putnam, in company with Col. Trumbull, Mr. Hutchinson, Maj. Carey, Mrs. Morgan, Capt. Abbot & lady, & Mr. Webb.

15. At Lechmere. Raw, cold day & snowd some. Cols. Little & Sergeant were officers-of-the-works. Recd. an order from Gen. Putnam for wine, as follows:

"To Commissary Avery,

"Sir.—Deliver Col. Baldwin 15 gals. of *wine*, which is necessary for *health and comfort*, he being every day at the works in this cold season."

"Cambridge, Jan. 12, 1776.

"(Sgd.) ISRAEL PUTNAM, M. G."

Pulling down houses in Boston and Charlestown.

16. Great noise in Boston this night and guards doubled at the works.

17. Rain, snow & fog.

18. Recd. news of death of Sister Forbes by Dr. Rogers. Also news of death of Gen. Montgomery at Quebec on Dec. 30th.

19. Work at Lechmere. Ground frozen 22 inches. Pryed up the earth in trenches 9 ft. long & 3 ft. wide.

21. Thirteen (13) Indians came from Canada to see Gen. Washington. Went to Gen. Gridley's in evng.

22. Gens. Washington & Gates with several other gentlemen came down to see the works. Hard work on the batteries, ground so frozen.

23. Thirteen (13) Cocknawages Indians came in to see works. The Regulars (British) exercised on the Common. Went through many firings.

24. Six (6) men made their escape from the Admiral's ship.

25. At Lechmere. Made a draft of Forts Nos. 1 & 2. Col. Durkee & Lt. Brigham, & other officers came into camp.

26. Attended prayers this morning.

27. Made plan of Lechmere Pt.

28. To church and Rev. Leonard addressed a no. of Indians present.

31. Got leave for 9 days.

Feb. 1st. Set off for Brookfield in morning. Dined at Capt. Baldwin's in Watertown. Drank coffee at Northboro & lodgd. at Shrewsbury.

2. Breakfasted at Worcester, dind. at Leicester at Mr. Tod's. Reached Brookfield; family well.

4. Went to meeting & heard Mr. Appleton preach from 1st Peter 3-7 vs.

8. Set out for Cambridge.

9. Dind. at Framingham at Col. Buckminster's. Waited (called) on Gens. Washington and Putnam.

11. Lord's Day. Workt at Lechmere Pt. Very cold, and ground frozen to the depth of 28 inches. Made large mines under frozen surface to get earth for parapets.

12. At Lechmere. Picked up on the ice bullets fired at Lechmere Pt. One man got 80 & another 60. Many others got large numbers. The General officers went to Dorchester Pt.

13. Gen. Washington with a no. of Genl. officers came to Lechmere Pt. Found good bridge of ice to Boston. At daybreak I awoke by the light of fires shining into my windows. I supposed it to be from houses set on fire by our people, but abt. 10 o'clk. was informed that 2 detachments of Regulars, one from the Castle, the other from Boston, 1000 or 1200 in all, landed on Dorchester Pt. and attempted to capture our guns, but were disappointed and they set fire to 8 or 10 houses there and retreated to the Castle again.

15. Col. Holden officer of the fatigue.

16. At Lechmere. Mr. Leonard & Dr. Foster came to see the works.

17. Gens. Washington, Putnam, & Gates inspected the works and ordered a guard-house to be built.

18. Lord's Day. Worked at Lechmere. Began the guard-house.

19. Workt at Lechmere. A prisoner came into our camp.

20. Undermined large pieces of frozen earth of several tons weight (which we rolled out on skids), in digging for the guard-house.



BOSTON FROM DORCHESTER POINT—1776

21. 200 men under orders for guards for this place.

23. Raised the guard-house. A snowy, wet, uncomfortable day. 3 prisoners taken at Roxbury.

24. Carpenters at work on gd.-house. Intelligence confirmed that the Regulars were preparing to embark. The vessels wooded & watered ready for a voyage, with the Chief of the heavy artillery on board.

26. Discovered the enemy building a battery on high ground, E. of the magazine at W. Boston, where they worked very briskly but the air being very thick & foggy we could not see clearly. At evng. recd. orders to go in the morning to Dorchester, after I had reported to Gen. Washington.

28. Went to Dorchester Pt. Recd. orders to have everything in readiness to take post at this place.

29. Went to Dorchester. Ordered platform laid at Cambridge.

March 1st. At Roxbury laying platforms for cannon & 2 mortars.

2. Building bomb batteries. Went upon Dorchester Hills with ye Generals and received their instructions. Dind. with them at Gen. Thomas'. Pulled down a building on Roxbury Neck in ye evng. Filled

the embrasures with abatis. Threw shell & shot into Boston. Split 3 mortars this evng.

3. At Roxbury. A no. of shot & shell thrown into Boston. Lt. Bingham was buried. Everything in readiness for taking post at Dorchester. The "Congress" was split with the 3d shof thrown from her.

4. Preparing for taking post. An alarm by the Regulars by boats seen going around to New Boston. Went upon Dorchester Hill in ye afternoon. The army came on at dusk with 280 carts & wagons with the material for the fortifications. Six (6) works thrown up this night at different points on the Hills and high ground, a very great work for one night.*

5. Worked on Dorchester Pt. An alarm abt. noon by the shipping falling down and Regulars embarking. One man had his hand shot off.

6. Worked at Dorchester Pt. Gens. Washington & Putnam with other General officers down to see us. Raised 2 barracks.

7. Workt at Dorchester Pt.

8. At D. Pt. Began a battery on Battery Hill. Proposed to take post on Nook Hill.

9. At D. Laid out a battery on the point towards the Castle. Laid out a work on Nook Hill which was intended to be finished this night, but soon after dark a very heavy cannonade began at Boston, firing over Nook Hill killing 4 men. Among the slain was Dr. Dole of Lancaster & Adams of Brookfield. The firing lasted, very heavy, all night.

10. At D. 30 ships under sail at once. A great stir in Boston, getting stuff on board. From appearances all the ships preparing to depart. All were glad to take post at Nook Hill.

11. At Dorchester. Firing all night. Opened a battery.

12. Attempted to take post on Nook Hill. Firing all night.

13. At D. Pt. Recd. orders to go to N. York. Went to Watertown. Recd. £9 15. 0. for selectmen for guards.

14. At Cambridge. Recd a warrant for \$116¾ for service as Engineer in the Continental Army to the 14th March inclusive. Went to Roxbury & dind. with Rev. Saml. Baldwin. Recd. a very friendly letter from Mr. John Adams, Esq., of the Congress at Phila. Recd. the money mentioned, and bot. a horse and saddle-bags.

(Many things ought to have been noticed from Mch. 4th to this time, which in a hurry have been omitted, but peculiar preservation cannot be forgotten by the person sensible of his preservation.)

March 20. Supt. & Lodgd. at Palmer.

" 21. Lodgd. &c at Hartford.

" 22. " " Wallingford.

" 24. " " Capt. Knapp's, Horseneck.

25. Dind. at Kingsbridge. Lodgd. at N. York. Supt. with Gen. Thompson, Gen. my Lord Sterling, and others.

26. Rode with my Lord Sterling, Col. Smith & others to view (inspect) the works around the City and the W. end of Long Isld. Dind. with Gen. Thompson & lodgd. at Stretoms on Broad St. below ye Town Hall.

27. Went round the several works in town and out to the Fort at Hell Gate or Harris' Hook, where we dind.

28. Wrote to Mr. John Adams. Laid out some works on Ship Battery Hill. At Col. Smith's wedding. Lodgd. with Capt Badlam.

*With great surprise, Lord Howe saw these works in the morning which threatened to shut his fleet up in Boston harbor and remarked. "The rebels have done more work in one night than my people would do in a month." [J. H. C.] (They caused the evacuation of B.)

29. Rode around ye works with ye Generals in ye forenoon. Gave an order to Capt. Rouen to provide material for the barracks at Fort Lord Stirling.

30. Began the work on the old Fort to raise the parapet. It snowed this afternoon. Gen. Heath came in town with Col. Gorton's, and several other regiments.

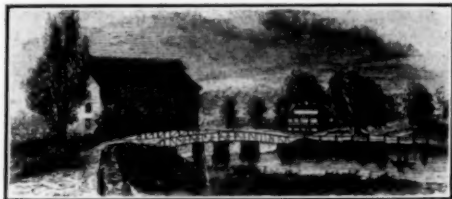
31. The men excused from fatigue. (Sunday.) Ground covered with snow & water.

Apr. 1. Began the "D" battery, and went around the several works with Gen. Heath and others.

2. Went to Long Island with Gen. Heath, my Lord Stirling and others. Laid out & proposed several works there. In the evening a party of our men (200) went onto the Island by the man-of-war and set fire to the buildings. Bro't off entrenching tools, fowl, &c., that belonged to Gen. Tryon and returned safe. The same night the furnace in this city was set on fire by some evil minded persons who fled to the ship. It was soon discovered and did little damage.

3. Drew plans for works on Long Isld. Bot. a coat & jacket for \$15. Heard that the fleet had sailed from Boston. Gen. Putnam came to this (N. Y.) city.

4. Went around the several works with Genl. Putnam and the other



KINGSBRIDGE—1776

general officers. In the afternoon I went to Horn's Hook, Fort Thompson.

5. To Long Isld. Col. Smith went with Gen. Stirling to ye Jersies. I laid out a battery on ye heights by ye Ferry on Long Island. Went with Gen. Putnam and Gen. Thompson to Horn's Hook.

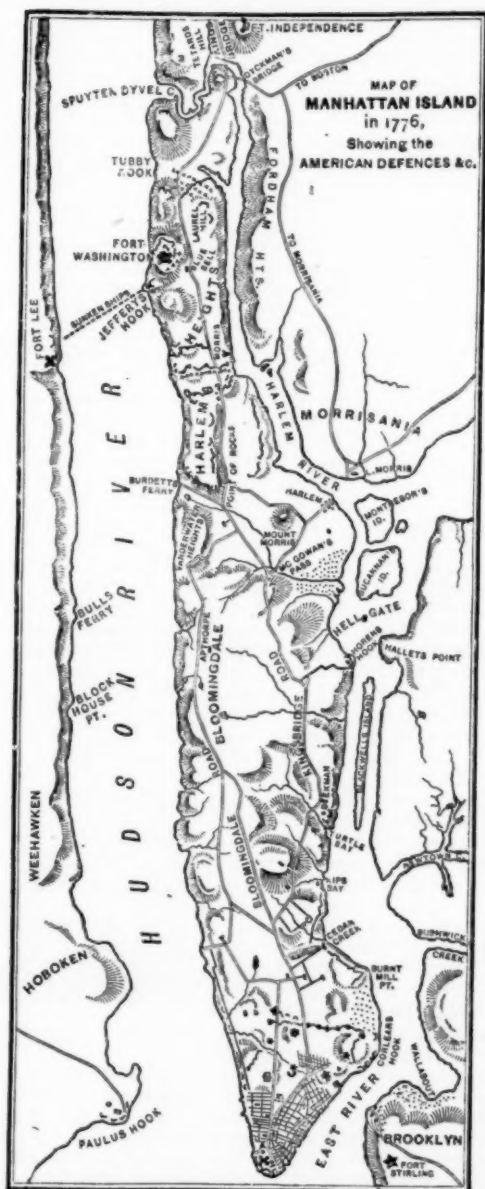
6. Went to Read's Hook.

7. Sunday, no fatigue. In the forenoon firing over the Bay at ye Jersies. Our riflemen took 9 and killed 3 of the enemy who came to take in water, with a loss to us of one man wounded. Went with Gens. Putnam & Thompson, Cols. Mifflin and Trumbull upon Governor's Isld. and concluded to fortify that place.

8. The ships fell down abt. 2 miles. Went to Red Hook with Gen. Thompson and laid out a battery on the point. Then went to Governor's Isld. and laid out the Fort at dark. 1000 men came on with the tools and went to work and before morning we had a fine trench. It rained all night and was very uncomfortable. Col. Webb commanded.

9. On Governor's Isld. in ye forenoon. To ye city in the afternoon. Gen. Sullivan's Brigade came in.

10. Went to Red Hook with ye general officers and to Governor's Island.



12. A wet, snowy morning. Worked on the Fort and Battery with 400 men.

13. Worked on the Battery. Gen. Washington in town with Gates and others.

14. Worked at the Battery. Went to Long Isld. & to Governor's Isld. Col. Prescott's regt. went over & encamped on Governor's Isld. In the afternoon I went to meeting in New York.

15. The "Asia," a man-of-war sent off this afternoon to the great joy of this place. Went with Gens. Washington, Putnam and my Lord Stirling to Red Hook and to Governor's Island. Dined with them and spent ye afternoon.

16. To Governor's Isld. Recd. orders to get ready to go to Quebec.

17. Preparing camp equipage and necessities for the voyage. Col. Putnam came to N. York & brot. letters from home.

18. Preparing to go to Quebec. Bot. sundry articles of stores.

19. Went to the Narrows with Gen. Putnam.

20. Carried all our things on board. Lodgd. in N. Y.

21. Being Lord's Day. Went on board Capt. Van Buren's "Abana" sloop about 10 o'clock. Had a good wind that carried us up the river Hudson abt. 30 miles. Lodgd. on board. Anchored abt. 8 o'clock.

22. Hoisted sail abt. 9 o'clk. in the morning. Had a big head wind this day. Came to anchor by the Highlands $\frac{1}{2}$ after 3 o'clock. Couldn't get through the Narrows. I went ashore and reconnoitred the mountains on the W. side. Went upon one abt. 500 ft. high. As the wind continued ahead and very high, we lay at anchor till abt. 11 o'clock at night. When the tide favored, we hoisted sail and attempted the passage of the Highlands, but were obliged to come to anchor before daylight, after passing Forts Montgomery & Constitution. I was on deck till after 2 o'clk this morning with a *curious eye, running* the vast mountains and the difficulties in rough waters. The mountains are said to be more than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile high, almost perpendicular from ye water.

23. This morning we were at anchor near Fort Constitution. Gen. Thompson. Col. Sinclair, Maj. White, Maj. Snell, Capt. Badlam, Capt. Van Buren with myself and Drs. — and 2 "Abana" gentlemen passengers were our mess in the cabin. Capt. Lindly and a company of carpenters were on board our sloop. We had 5 horses and 4 dogs on board. As the wind was contrary & we could not come to sail, the General proposed my going to view (inspect) the Fort (he & several others went with me) as I was ordered by Gen. Washington to inspect the whole of the northwest when I could do it without retarding our march, to make remarks and send them to him. We returned about 12 o'clock and came to sail but ye wind continued high, but ye tide favored us. We beat about 3 hrs., when on a sudden a flaw took us, shivered our boom all to pieces and carried all before it overboard, knocking down the horses, and as I was on deck it took off my hat. What was a great wonder, no life was



PORTS CONSTITUTION AND
MONTGOMERY

lost or person much injured. I immediately proposed the making a new boom. After we came to anchor I went with the carpenters on shore, cut a tree, hewd., shavd., and drew down a boom 51 ft. long off from a mountain of great height, got it on board and it was completely fixed, ready to sail in $3\frac{1}{2}$ hrs. from the time the old one gave way; but as the wind & tide were against us, we lay at anchor till about 2 o'clock in the morning, when the wind abated. Some time after my hat went overboard we discovered it at a distance and 4 of our men jumped into a small boat and brought it to me.

24. A fine, pleasant morning. As I awoke we were passing the Highlands in company with several other sloops. Then opened a pleasant settled country on each side of the river. I went on shore to several of the houses on the W. side and brought butter, milk and eggs. Got on board abt. 11 o'clock. The sloop kept under sail. We passed by New Winsor & Newboro on ye W. side, Powcapsey (Poughkeepsie) and Lime Kilns. At Long Reach people were throwing wood from a hill 80 ft. high to load a vessel. Abt. 6 o'clock the sun went into a dark thick cloud and it looked like a storm. We passed Livingston Manor abt. sunset. Kept under sail till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 A.M., when our vessel went aground with 2 other sloops.

25. Yesterday sailed about 80 miles. This A.M. abt. 7, our vessel floated and we had a fine, pleasant gale of wind which carried us to Albany, 12 miles, in a short time. We soon marched to our quarters, provided for the Gen. and his company. Set the carpenters and smiths to work making tent poles. We dined agreeably with a number of our gentlemen of the army, and others of the city. The Gen. orders that Col. Greaton's regt. march to-morrow for Lake George, Col. Patterson's on Saturday, Col. Bond's on Sunday and Col. Poor's on Monday next, when I am to march with Gen. Thompson for Quebec, which will complete a journey of above 800 miles since I left Cambridge; but thank God I have health given me to undergo any fatigue that I have been called to, in the cause of my country.

26. Wrote home from Albany by Bradshaw. Breakfasted with Comr. Ranslee. Dind. with Gen. Thompson, Col. Livingstone and a no. of other gentlemen at the King's Arms, Mr. Varnum. Col. Greaton's regt. marched from Albany for Canada.

27. Col. Patterson's regt. marched. Dind. with Mr. Ranslee. The armourers came up and joined the artificers at Albany.

28. Col. Bond's regt. marched off for Canada. I rode with General Thompson & Col. Sinclair in a coach in company with other officers, to the Kahoes (Cohoes), crossed the Mohawk R. at Lowden's Ferry, went to Half Moon and returned by Stonington to Albany. Drank tea at Capt. Lonson's. Had a beautiful day and most agreeable ride.

29. Supt with Mr. Ray at Albany (a merch.) and Dr. McKenzie. Sent off part of my baggage with Capt. Bradley. Dind. with Mr. Livingstone, Comr. General. In the afternoon I attended a treaty between the Indians & English (Americans). Present, a committee of the city and county of Albany. Gen. Thompson and some of the other officers of the army, and about 130 chiefs and warriors from 2 tribes of Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Kiogas. The Indians were all seated in a large hall. When we went in they all arose singly and came around in their turn and shook hands with all of us. After this ceremony was over, all took seats. The Chairman of the Council arose and welcomed them to this place and "was glad to see them in health and peace, and that it gave us pleasure to have an opportunity to smoke a pipe & drink together, &c." Then he sate down. Pipes were brot. for

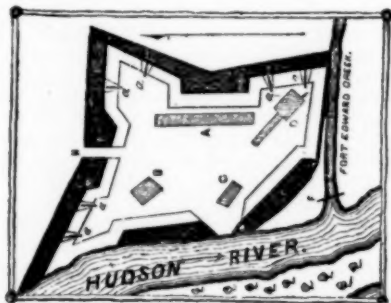
every man with tobacco. Then one of the chiefs arose and said "they were glad to see so many of their brethren well, and that they had an opportunity to smoke a pipe with us. Then a kind of a Quaker meeting lasted nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ hour except some little conversation. Drank some *toddy* together and then the Gen. said he supposed they were tired with their long journey, that they had better sit and refresh themselves with some liquors that he should order, that he should call them together to-morrow to smoke a pipe again and have some further conversation as brothers." Then we withdrew from *such* a scent (proceeding from the Indians & tobacco smoke, the room being crowded) as you can have but a faint idea of. At night the Indians had a great dance.

30. Put my baggage aboard a batteau. In the morning about 11 I left Albany with a fair wind. Dind. at Stone Robin with Capt. Lonson. Went to Half Moon & loaded all our baggage on wagons. Went back & lodgd. with Lonson.

May 1st. Rode with Lonson to Saratoga.

2. Went to Ft. Miller. Lodgd. in a tent after visiting Gen. Schuyler, lady & daughters on the road & Mr. Duer at the Falls. Lonson returned.

3. Set out on batteaux & went to Fort Edward. Col. Poor's regt. came up. The carpenters went forward to the Lake, but for want of carriages, I staid with the armourers at Ft. Edward last night. The old Fort is all in ruins and was set on fire last Monday and continues burning. Last night the fire broke out in one of the magazines and burnt most seriously. Lodgd. at Mrs. Smith's new house on my own bed very comfortably in company with Capt. Badlam of the artillery train.



FORT EDWARD.

4. Gen. Thompson came to Ft. Edward & went to the Lake. Just at night I set out with 3 loads of my baggage from Ft. Edward. Went about 2 miles.

5. Went to the Lake with Capts. Newton and Badlam, on foot, 12 miles. Got the cannon on board the sloop with the artillery stores. The carpenters and smiths put their baggage on board ready to sail. Gen. Thompson and others came & drank a *bottle of wine!* with me. I sup't with Gen. Schuyler and spent the evng. Lodgd. in my tent on the edge of the Lake. A rough sea that washed down Gen. Schuyler's chimney as we were sitting after supper, *made us merry.*

6. A very rainy day prevented the troops passing the Lake as proposed. At evening we caught plenty of fish.

7. Set out from Fort George. Recd. a letter from Gen. Washington

informing me that the Congress had advanced my rank & pay as a reward of merit. I wrote a letter of thanks to Gen. Washington.

8. Last night we lodgd. at Sabbath Day Point. Commodore Homes made me a present of 200 acres of choice land with two houses upon it which includes the whole of the lowlands on and about the point. In the morning we went to Ticonderoga Landing. I lodgd. in my tent.

9. Got our luggage over ye carrying place to the Fort with the boats. Dind. at ye Landing with Gen. Thompson and Col. St. Clair. Lodgd. in my tent by the edge of Lake Champlain.

10. Left Ticonderoga about 11 o'clk. Din'd at Crown Point by the side of ye Lake.

11. Set off about sunup and breakfasted at ye Split Rock below the upper Narrows. We passed by the White Mountains covered with snow. Dind. on an island and then set off & soon taken with a high wind which carried away our sail and mast. Made the best of our way to the W. shore which was abt. 6 miles against the wind. We all got in safe after $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours of hard rowing (4 batteaux and 108 men) but the wind continuing high, our boats came near being beaten to pieces before we could unload them and draw them up. Lodgd. on shore in my tent. Several Indians visited us to-day.

12. The wind continued to blow hard till about 12 when it abated and we loaded our batteaux and rowed off about 1 P.M., 15 miles, to a rocky cove, 8 batteaux in company. We caught fine pike.



LAKE GEORGE AND PART OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

13. Set out abt. sunrise with a fair wind. Went abt. 20 miles when the wind failed. Went on shore, got breakfast & set off again, rowed to the Narrows & then were favored with a good wind. Passed by the Island of Nox and 6 miles further on met a batteau and were informed that the Regular Fleet (Brit.) had arrived at Quebec and that our army had retreated abt. 15 leagues, where they were fortifying. Went to St. John's where the news of the retreat of our army was confirmed. Went over to the E. side of the R. Sorell. Lodgd. at Col. Hazel's. We have a very gloomy acct. of our army at Quebec. The report is that about 500 of our men, chiefly sick, are prisoners with the artillery and stores captured, but no certainty.

14. Went down the R. Sorell to Chambly's Fort where we tarried to get bread baked (no other provisions to be had here). In company with Gen. Thompson and the Commissioner from the Continental Congress, who made me welcome to this place. He advised me to take the *small pox*, as that distemper is brief here. I proposed to take the infection



RUINS OF TICONDEROGA

to-morrow at Sorell. Dr. McKenzie of a Pa. regt. to attend me. They are building some armed boats at this place which will soon be ready for service. I just hear that all the entrenching tools are left. Wrote to Crown Point for all the entrenching tools to be sent down with all the irons belonging to the old gun carriages. Wrote home. Shambole is beautifully situated on both sides of the river. A regular fort built with stone & lime but without a trench (ditch), well situated by the river, a handsome church and a pretty village. The women are black and no ways inviting.

Letter to His Wife.

Shambole, May 14, 1776.

My dear.—These papers may serve to let you know where I was on particular days as I have kept a kind of Journal as I have gone along. Though short it may give you some satisfaction. I have through Divine goodness enjoyed my health well, and am very hearty at this time, though something of a gloom has passed this way by the retreat of our army from before Quebec. The report is that about 500 of our army

are left sick with the small pox (and otherwise) near Quebeck and have fallen into the hands of the Regulars with the artillery and what little stores they had there."

15. Left Shambole with a fair wind abt. 10 A.M. Sailed down the river Sorell 45 miles, through a most beautiful settlement on each side of the river. Got down about 6 P.M.

16. Viewed the grounds on both sides of the river with Cols. Wait & Antte. Dind. and drank tea with Gen. Arnold. Gen. Thompson came from Montreal. Capt. Barnard & M. de la Marquisca (an Asst. Engineer) came to Sorell. Capt. Badlam moved up and took command of the artillery at Sorell.

May 17, '76.

About 10 A.M. I was inoculated for the small pox with Cols. Bond and Alden, Majors Fuller & Loring, Rev. Mr. Burnham, Dr. Holbrook and Lieut. Oldham together in a mess, by Dr. McKenzie. Gen. Thomas came to this place from Quebeck leaving his army at Three Rivers.

18. A Gen. Council met and agreed to move the army to De Shambo as soon as provisions arrive which at present are scarce, the army being on $\frac{1}{2}$ allowance.

19. Sunday. This is observed but all the men at work, who can be supplied with tools, at 3 breastworks at different places, one on the



FORT CHAMBLY

point across the river. Ordered all the tools to be brought in from the several works to go down with the army. Col. Greacon dind. and Col. St. Clair breakfasted with me. Laid out some works & mounted some cannon and got the smiths to work. Gen. Arnold (B.) went last night to Montreal.

20. We had news last night that Capt. Bliss had been taken by the Regulars and Canadians from Detroit, at the Cedars, above Montreal, together with the provisions going to that place. This news gave a damp to the spirits of our people as hundreds of them had taken the small pox and others daily expecting to have it. Gen. Thomas sick and not one bbl. of provisions in the store, and the men on $\frac{1}{2}$ allowance for several days past and no certainty of any coming soon, is truly distressing. I went with Cols. Bond & Alden & Maj. Fuller up the R. St. Ours. Lodgd. at Col. Dugan's.

21. Breakfasted at Col. Dugan's. Went up 3 miles to see our lodgings at Capt. L'Amoureux, & then returned to Col. Dugan's. Dind., and then went up in our batteaux to our agreeable French landlord's. Drank coffee together. 60 bbls. pork went down to Sorell.

22. Gen. Thomas came up to St. Ours sick with the small pox. We heard of a detachment of our army being cut off at the Cedars, 170 men under Major Harburn. Maj. Thomas dind, with us and informed that our army at Three Rivers had been sent for to come up to Sorell. Col. De Haut sent from Sorell with 450 riflemen and musketeers to Montreal and the Cedars. The Arty. sent up from Sorell to Shambole where I was advised to move to prevent my falling into the hands of our Canadian enemy who sometimes now show themselves unfriendly. Our army is being very much neglected, the supplies not being sent forward in season proper for the supply of the army, together with the distress occasioned by the spread of the small pox in the Army and other distempers, two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) were returned unfit for duty, and occasioned a cowardly and shameful retreat from Quebec, Diphanito, & Three Rivers to Sorell. This day I hear that Col. Poor's & Col. Porter's Regts. are retiring to St. John's to fortify that place. If this is the case when none pursue, what may we expect when we are driven by the enemy. I walked about to the neighbors, visiting. Fair, windy day.

23. Had a restless night, a hard pain in my head and my knees. I got up and after breakfast walked with Col. Alden to Col. Dugan's and back again to dinner, 5 miles, but the pain in my head continued and several pox appeared under the skin in my forehead. I ate a little dinner but appetite and relish failed, living 8 days without tasting the least relish of salt in my victuals or tasting *any kind of spirituous liquors*. Just now heard that the army from Three Rivers was coming up to Sorell. Col. Poor marched by with his regt. to Shambole. Col. Porter's regt. marched by for St. John's and they advised me to retire as it was expected the army would go to Sorell soon, but my French friends assure me they will take the best care, that I shall have the first notice of any danger and that they would help me off should the enemy pursue. At several houses where I have become acquainted these people are polite, kind and very friendly, and are extremely loth to have us leave them. It gives them great concern to see the army returning but when Gen. Sullivan's Regt. comes over the lakes, we expect the army will proceed immediately down to Dechambeau which will secure a very fine country and without which an army cannot be supported there. Just heard that Gen. Arnold had taken a large store (of supplies) 9 miles above Montreal worth ten thousand pounds sterling, that was going up to supply our enemies on the great Lakes and that he was entrenching and had secured his party and had sent for a re-enforcement which had gone to him. This day I bot. a bushel of the best wheat, floured, for 2 pistareens and I am informed that the inhabitants on the river Sorell raise annually for sale, 150,000 bushels of wheat besides supplying their families. Their buildings are low and mean, nearly alike for 45 miles together, on both sides of the river. It is level without one hill save a number of water gullies, that are short, running with the river. The barns are thatched rough with gable ends and the whole are built without nails. The buildings stand near as thick as on Worcester St. (Brookfield, Mass.) all the way on the River. This day Dr. McKenzie and the Comr. General visited me. The latter said that he had at the time of the retreat from before Quebec above 200 bbls. of pork & 12,000 weight of flour in one store, and that the army did not retreat for the want of provisions, it was in consequence of the situation of the army, which extended so far that it could not be supported after the fleet and army should arrive from Halifax. Therefore a Council advised that the army should retreat to Dechambeau, where they were to fortify and make a stand. But 3 frigates arriving with 700 men, just at the time our army was preparing

to retire, a general panic seized our army, wh. the enemy saw and taking advantage of it, and our army fled in the greatest disorder and left almost everything valuable behind. Many of the officers behaved in such a cowardly manner as to bring lasting disgrace on themselves and others. The Commissary saith that the plunder taken by the regulars (British) left by our army, was worth at least 2000£ sterling besides the artillery and ordnance stores. The no. of our people sick with the small pox that have fallen into the hands of the enemy, is uncertain yet, but it is said to be small. A great battle fought but nobody killed & nobody hurt. By orders Capt. Newland, an Asst. Engineer is sent to fortify St. John's, & Capt. Fisk an Asst. Engr. is sent to fortify Shambole. This day they left me. A fine pleasant day.

May 24, 1776.

After breakfast I walkt with my companions round the field, 3 miles, but felt poorly, no stomach for dinner, headache and full of pain. In the afternoon I rode with my landlord by invitation in his calash to see Gen. Thompson & Col. Campbell at Col. Dugan's. Retd. very poorly, full of pain and very restless. May God grant his blessing. If you think this and the other papers are worth preserving, please to lay them aside.

25. I was all the day so full of pain and distress, especially over my eyes, that I was able to walk but little abroad, frequently having severe chills running through my whole body, which is very tedious to bear.

May 26, 1776.

Rested very poorly last night, & so poorly to-day that I was scarcely able to look up. The hard fits of fever and ague I had in 1757 resemble this day's distress but I walkt a little abroad as it was a fine day.

27. Rested some last night and I was much better. This day the pox began to come out. Col. Livingston came with Maj. Brewer to see me. A fine day. Gen. Thompson sent me a nurse. Oliver was inoculated.

28. Slept none last night, a high fever wh. made me very restless. I got up early, the fever abated, & I was comfortable, the pox coming out thick. A sore throat was troublesome. Went abroad but little as the day was cold & raw.

29. Slept but little last night. The pain in my head and the sore throat increased so that I was very poorly in the morning. The weather cold. Gen. Thompson, Col. St. Clair, Col. Maxwell and some others called to see me on their way to Shambole.

30. Had a very poor day. My throat very sore, a hard head ache & very faint. The Dr. came to see me & said "there is no fear, you will do well, but you have a great deal to bear yet."

31. Slept some last night; felt a little better. A number of battoes (batteaux) sent up from Sorell to Shambole with pioneers. A report spread that 1000 regulars and 5000 Canadians were at Three Rivers coming upon us. Many of the French inhabitants moved their families to Shambole and St. John. We persuaded others not to leave their homes yet, it would be time enough to go with us.

June 1. Slept better last night. My throat better, but stomach very sore & squeamish, loathing every kind of food. The pox this day began to fill. The nurse counted 40 on & about my face. Genl. Thomas died this day of small pox.

2. Rested better last night. The pox turned this day. Dr. Stewart came to see me and informed me that Col. St. Clair was going from Sorell with 700 men to Three Rivers. A schooner and 13 battoes passed up this river from Sorell to Shambole with provisions & stores.

June 3. Gen. Walker went up to Sorell. A schooner went by from Sorell to Shambole. I remained excessively sore specially in my feet. Heard of the death of Gen. Thomas at Shambole.

4. Part of Gen. Sullivan's brigade past to Sorell in 50 battoes. Capt. Badlam called to see me.

5. Last night and this day I broke out all over as thick as possible wh. caused severe itching. We just heard that Col. St. Clair was returning with his party as he saw 6 ship of war at ye Three Rivers and 30 transports with a land army of 4000. Also just heard that Gen. Worcester has gone home. I think our affairs look dark. Matters don't go on right and I don't know how they should, when the General of the Army (Schuyler), the Comr. Genl., the Q. Mr. Genl. are all in another country. But good conduct and one or two victories in battle may turn the face of things. Dr. Stewart came from Sorell to see me. Lodged, and is to return in the morning. Col. Porter went to Sorell.

6. Had a high fever last night, my body being covered with the pox and an extreme fire & itching made me very uncomfortable. Col. Stark's regt. went to Sorell this day. Mr. Grant, a Canadian merchant informed that a large fleet had arrived at Quebec with 13,000 regular troops, a part of wh. were near Sorell. Gen. Thompson went down the river with 15,000 men from Sorell to Three Rivers where, we heard, the regulars were landing.

June 7. Rested poorly last night, the burning of the pox is very tedious to bear.

8. This morning I was awakened at daylight by the report of cannon down the river, wh. continued with short intermission till about 9 o'clock. The cannonade was very heavy, supposed to be Gen. Thompson engaged with the regulars. God give us the victory.

9. I rested very well last night. This day the pox that came out very fine on the 5th began to turn, and I was better at my stomach. Col. Patterson, Maj. Scott and other officers (4) dined with me. Just at evng. an acct. was brot. that Gen. Thompson had engaged the regulars at ye Three Rivers and got the advantage of the main body, had taken abt. 400 prisoners and was returning with them, his ammunition being nearly expended. He was again attacked by 900 regulars who got the better of our troops, killing and taking numbers, and when the informer came away, the regulars were pursuing and our troops fleeing before them.

10. Col. De Haas, Capt. Nelson and Capt. Butler called to see me as they were going to Sorell from the Cedars with their army. They complained greatly of Gen. Arnold's conduct at the Cedars, that it was altogether owing to him that the regular army with the Canadians were not cut off and our prisoners retaken. Maj. Scott came up to St. Ours sick with the mumps. Capt. Scott came up from Sorell and informed that Gen. Thompson's army had returned to Barksee, that they had lost 20 men killed, which was inconsiderable compared with the loss of the enemy, wh. is said to be abt. 100. Gen. Sullivan sent out orders for 2000 Canadian militia to go down to Sorell for the assistance of our army.

11. I set out from the parish St. Ours for Shambole in a battoe. I am very weak and unfit for travel. Col. Bond & Col. Alden go with me. Our servants out full with the small pox but not bad. Oliver has it very light. We dined at Armartle Duvache on the right side of the river where we had a fine dinner and were kindly entertained. Then we went up the R. to an old & good farmer's where we lodgd. and were kindly entertained.

12. We went up the river abt. 6 miles to Mr. Lequay's where we were

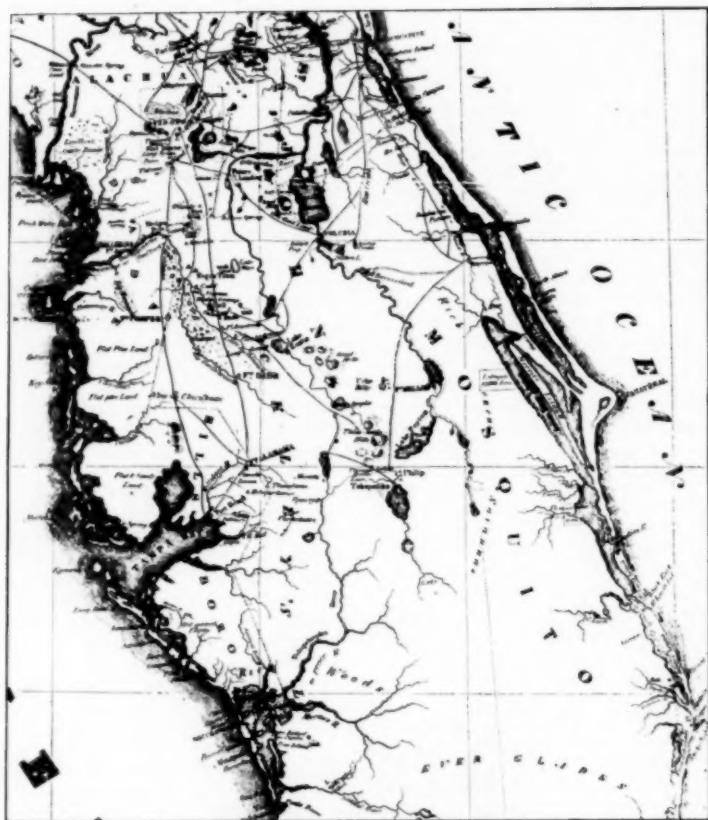
very politely entertained and where we lodgd. A fine day but wind ahead.

13. Went up the river after breakfast to Point Oliver's where we dined at a Mass House with a French priest and very agreeably entertained by the Friar, Mr. Lottinière. After dinner we went to Shamblee, Col. Hazel and Col. Antle informed me that there was at this place and St. John, and about them, 2900 men sick (chiefly with the small pox) who belonged to our army. This crippled us so that we are poorly able to defend ourselves against so superior a force as we hear is coming against us, and that very soon.

14. Last night I lodgd. in my tent without taking cold and am very comfortable. I breakfasted with Gen. Arnold who recd. a letter while at breakfast from Gen. Sullivan informing that he had recd. a letter from Gen. Thompson who was a prisoner with the regulars, with Col. Ewing, & Dr. McKenzie. Col. St. Clair had just come in to Sorell, just alive from fatigue. There's abt. 100 of our men still missing but they slowly come scattering in. It is uncertain how many we have lost in this desperate action. It is reported that the 2 Frenchmen, Gen. Thompson's guides, were traitors. There's but little dependence to be placed on any of them. We just now hear that 10,000 of our enemies have landed on an island opposite to Sorell, abt. one mile distant from our camp. We are poorly fortified and our forces not a third of what the enemy is said to be. *Genl. Burgoyne*, the most experienced general in the English service, is in command. I am going to-morrow to St. John's to give directions to fortify there in order to cover our retreat, wh. I think must be soon unless a miracle is wrought in our favor. I hope we shall be able to retire with all our artillery & stores to Crown Point, wh. is the best I can reasonably expect or hope for, there to *make a stand, let come what will*.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]





MAP OF PART OF FLORIDA—1836.



FORT MELLON, FLORIDA—1836.

AN ARMY SURGEON'S NOTES OF FRONTIER
SERVICE, 1833-48.*

CONTRIBUTED BY CAPT. N. S. JARVIS, U. S. ARMY.

(LIEUT.-COLONEL, N. G., S. N. Y.)

RECEIVED an order June 1, (1837), while on leave in New York to repair to Florida and report for duty. Left on the 15th of June for the latter place via Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk & Charleston. While at Norfolk visited the U.S.N. Hospital at the point, also the frigate *Macedonian* belonging to the exploring squadron in company with Capt. Parker, U.S.N. Left Norfolk for Charleston in Steamboat *Georgia* on the 17th and arrived at the latter place on the 19th. Visited most objects worthy of attention, the library, exchange, &c. In the evening paid a visit to Dr. Bachman at the extreme end of the city. Found there Audubon, the naturalist, and his son, having lately return'd from a scientific tour in Texas. The latter exhibited to me the whole series of his drawings of birds just recd. from London. Dr. Bachman exhibited during the evening a collection of the skins of small animals, principally the squirrel & marmot of different and undescrib'd varieties collected by Nuttall & Townsend in the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains. Dr. B. is describing the genus of animals for the Society of National Science of Philadelphia. He has already discover'd several unknown species of these animals, as well as the hare & rabbit. One of the latter, a beautiful little animal, is call'd the water rabbit, and when pursued or frighten'd conceals itself in the water, leaving nothing but the tips of its ears sticking out. It is about the size of a common rat. Met a Dr. Seitner, a German naturalist, who has explor'd the southern parts of Florida in botanical pursuits. Is now publishing a work on Florida embracing its natural

* Continued from July Number.

productions and sketch of the Indians and their language inhabiting that part of Florida.

Left Charleston on the 21st of June in a small schooner for St. Augustine, where I arrived on the 23d. Found on my arrival 2 steamboats with troops, principally 2d Dragoons and some companies of Artillery who had arrived the day before from Forts Mellon and Volusia under command of Col. Harney. These Posts had been abandon'd on account of their unhealthiness at this season of the year and of the whole command at the 2 places amounting to near 400 men 150 were sick. Reported to Genl. Armistead and was put on duty at the Genl. Hospital No. 1 with about 70 sick, mostly intermittent diarrhoe. The evening after my arrival went to a ball at Judge Read's. Found most of the officers present. Danc'd principally Spanish dances. The party broke up about daylight. These balls are given 2 or 3 times a week during the whole summer, notwithstanding the heat of the weather and rarely concluded before 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning.

July. The 4th was celebrated as usual with a public dinner, procession, &c. Did not attend owing to the heat of the weather. July —. A soldier was executed to-day back of the town for shooting his sergeant. He was turn'd over and tried by the civil authorities. He exhibited great coolness both before his execution and on the scaffold. At the latter place address'd some few remarks to his former comrades attributing his crime to drunkenness at the time, expressing regret for its commission, the justice of his sentence and willingness to die. While the priest read prayers for the dead he held his umbrella over him, adjusted the rope around his neck and shook hands with all he recogniz'd, and when suspended deliberately crossed his hands on his breast and never made a struggle, although apparently alive $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after the drop fell. The St. Augustine Packet *S.S. Mills* was lost on her way to Charleston during one of the gales we had during this & succeeding month. The loss cast a gloom over the town, as nearly all the persons belong'd here and had extensive connections and were highly respected. Only one person, a sailor, escap'd. Shortly after this Col. Harney left here with 3 small boats and about 20 men with the design of going to Moschetto about 70 miles south. In passing Matanzas bar the boat in which he himself was and 7 or 8 men was upset and 4 soldiers & 1 black man were drown'd. Col. H. escap'd by seizing hold of a barrel of bread on which he manag'd to float ashore in an exhausted state. The expedition return'd. Genl. Armistead left this month for his residence in Virginia. A singular occurrence about this time took place. A Lieut. C. of the Arty. and who had charge of the Ordnance at the Post suddenly left Augustine without the knowledge of any person, not even his wife to whom he seem'd much attach'd, and no trace whatever, with the exception of his being seen in Jacksonville the day after his departure, could be learn'd until some months afterwards. An article then appear'd in a paper publish'd at Baton Rouge, La., stating that a Lieut. C. was found in the neighborhood of that place by a negro, wandering about in a state of destitution. He inquir'd of the latter the way to St. Augustine, stating that he had been out a-riding as was his custom and could not tell how he got there altho' about 2000 miles distant. The people of course suppos'd he must have been insane at the time of his departure and had wander'd this far. He had involv'd himself considerably in debt while here besides borrowing money of one of the officers, and seeing no way to repay it and having already

laid his character open to serious charges of falsehood, in a moment of rashness and folly evidently left the place and behind him a young and amiable wife to whom he appear'd sincerely attach'd. * * *

September. About the — of this month Genl. Hernandez, with a detachment of the 2d Dragoons 2 companies of Artillery and mounted volunteers, proceeded to Timoka and succeeded in capturing Philip and 8 or 10 more Indians comprising their whole camp with the exception of 2 who escap'd; from thence they proceeded about 7 miles farther to Euchu Billy's camp to which they were guided by Timoka John, who was taken in Philip's camp. This they in like manner surpris'd, taking Euchu Billy, Jack and 8 or 10 more men, women and children. In this last affair Lt. McNiel, 2d Dragoons was unfortunately shot and liv'd but a few hours afterwards. An Indian was likewise shot dead and 2 wounded, a girl and a boy. The girl was shot thro' the body, the ball entering near one shoulder, passing under the scapulae exterior to the ribs. She was brot to the General Hospital and recover'd, as well as the boy who had recd. 3 severe cuts of the scalp from a sergeant's sword. Lt. McNiel was brot to town and buried with military honor. He was a gallant young officer, and a son of Genl. McNiel, formerly of the Army. The Indians were all brot to town and confined in the Fort of St. Marks. Philip had the appearance of a mild intelligent Indian and was the principal chief of the Seminoles. Euchu Billy on the contrary was a savage old rascal as well as his brother Euchu Jack. The former was principal chief of the Micasakies and it was his party who committed all the destruction of the property on the Moscheta shore. Genl. Jesup order'd these last to be put in irons. Shortly after this Philip sent an Indian out to bring in his family. After a few days he return'd with his son Coacoochy and a brother of Philip.



COACOOCHY.

This Coacoochy is a fine looking fellow and one of the most ferocious in the whole nation. Never did I see a savage whose countenance was mark'd with more daring and ferocity. Fearful are the stories of his cruelty. He himself relates instances where he has knock'd out the brains of children against logs and trees, scalp'd their parents and fir'd their houses. Mrs. Johns who was scalp'd last year after being shot, her husband kill'd on the spot and their house set on fire, was an act of his. This Mrs. Johns I saw a few days since near Garey's Ferry, living with her mother. She is a fine looking woman about 25 years of age and wears a black cap to hide the loss of her hair. After the Indians set fire to the house and had departed, she made out to crawl out and extinguish her clothes which were already in flames and concealed herself near a rivulet, where she was found by her friends. In a conference of Genl. H. with Philip it was proposed to send out Coacoochy and another Indian to induce Powell,

whose camp they represented not to be far off, to come in for the ostensible purpose of having a talk. Coacoochy was sanguine he could induce him to do so. He was to carry a talk of Philip to him and said he should be absent 10 or 12 days. At the expiration of that time he return'd, bringing word that Powell was coming and would be in a day or two. Within that time intelligence was sent to Augustine that the renown'd Os-cin-ye-hola or Powell Osceola with 80 of his warriors was waiting within a mile of Camp Peyton 7 miles from town, and the Genl. immediately set out to hold a talk and what was pretty well known before to take him and his party. Wishing to see him and hear the talk, I accompanied the Genl. and his staff. Genl. H. took with him to Fort Peyton 2 companies of mounted volunteers & the 2d Dragoons and on his arrival at the former place took the remaining part of the 2d Dragoons; his whole force amounting to 250 men. We all now started for the camp of the Indians. On the way the Genl. stopped to have a short consultation with his staff and immediately proceeded on, the troops following a short way in the rear. On our arrival at their camp which we discern'd at a short distance by a white flag flying, the Indians immediately gather'd around us shaking hands with all the officers. My attention of course was at first directed to discover Os-cin-ye-hola. He was soon pointed out to me, but I could have designated him by his looks as the principal man among them. Nothing of savage fierceness or determination mark'd his countenance, on the contrary his features indicated mildness and benevolence. A continued smile played over his face, particularly when shaking hands with the officers present. * * *

* * * After an extended talk, the Genl. lifted a signal agreed upon, and the troops clos'd in.

Genl.—"I have just heard of one white man kill'd on the other side of the St. Johns—you are prisoners and prisoners never suffer with us—tell the young men not to be afraid, we do not mean to hurt them, but it is necessary they should be secur'd until we get into town—nothing will happen to them." The arms and baggage of the Indians were then collected, and the line of march then taken up for St. Augustine. Being engag'd most of the time during the talk in watching the effect of the movement of the troops on the Indians I did not hear the whole of the conversation. I am indebted to an account taken verbatim on the spot by one present which appears materially correct. On the first approach of the troops the Indians manifested no surprise and when the order was given to close in I could observe no sign of terror or fear, some rising up merely to observe the movements apparently more from curiosity than from any other motive. I could observe Powell and Coahjo cast around a glance occasionally when they were forming to enclose them, but neither arose until the conference broke up. Powell, Co-a-ha-jo & another chief were furnished with horses, the remaining Indians on foot escorted by all the mounted force forming a line on each side of the road and, to render them still more secure, a company on foot. I rode by the side of Powell the whole distance. He appeared to be unwell, otherwise no perceptible change whatever was observed in his countenance. The same smile was on his features when spoken to, and in no manner cast down by his present situation. We arriv'd in town just at sundown. The whole population had turn'd out to witness our entry, and more particularly Os-cin-ye-ho-la. The latter was dress'd in a blue calico shirt, leggings of red cloth with a row of buttons on the outside of the leg & a red print shawl wrap'd

around his head and another his neck and shoulders. They were all taken to the Fort of St. Marks.* Two or three days afterwards Genl. H. went south with 200 men to endeavor to capture more Indians. He succeeded in taking about 30 men, women & children. I should have remark'd that the day before the capture of Powell upwards of 70 negroes were sent in by the Indians, all of whom had been captur'd at different times from the whites. Attended a Ball at Genl. H. In the early part of September many of the soldiers who had been laboring under chronic Dysentery and Intermittents dropp'd off. 12 died in the Genl. Hospital, among whom was John Thomas, one of the 2 survivors of Dade's massacre. His death was hasten'd by intemperance.† About this time an act that produced some animadversion took place. Some of the officers who had been in the detachment that took Philip and Euchu Billy determined to have an Indian war dance. For this purpose in the evening they had a large fire kindl'd in the public square and about a dozen dress'd up as Indians assembled and danc'd around it, whooping & yelling in true savage style & at the same time dancing around an Indian scalp they had procur'd somewhere. The whole town assembl'd to witness the proceedings. Fortunately there were present but 2 regular Officers, all the rest belong'd to the militia. Attended the wedding party & ball of Lieut. G., 2d Dragoons. All the beauty and fashion of St. Augustine were present.

October.—About the 23d of this month I recd. an order from Genl. J. to repair to Fort Harlee at Santa Fe Bridge to see the surgeon of the Post who was sick, and attend to his duties. * * * Remained at Fort Harlee 4 days, the Dr. being sufficiently well to leave. I started for Black Creek. The last evening I spent at the

*Genl. Jesup came as far as Fort Peyton one mile from the camp and remained there during the talk.

†NORE. The Editor deems this a suitable place to reprint this story of the "Dade Massacre" from "The War in Florida by a Staff-Officer," Baltimore, 1836.



OSCEOLA.

The expected reinforcement of thirty-nine men from Key West, with the gallant Brevet-Major Dade, having arrived on the 21st, no time was lost in preparing the two companies, ordered by General Clinch on the 16th, to form a junction with the forces at Fort King. Accordingly, at six o'clock A. M., of the 24th, Captain Gardiner's Company C, Second Artillery, and Captain Fraser's Company B, Third Infantry, making fifty bayonets each, with eight officers, taking with them ten days' provisions, one six-pounder drawn by four oxen, and one light one-horse wagon, were placed in the line of march for that post, under command of Captain Gardiner.

In the chain of events, it may not be amiss to notice the change which occurred in the command of this ill-fated detachment, since it shows the noble and generous impulses of his heart and is so perfectly characteristic

former place met Dr. T. & Lieut. S. of the Army. The subject of animal magnetism coming up, many extraordinary facts were related of its effect by Capt. V. who is a firm believer in it. The experiment of raising a person by the points of the fingers while at the moment of expiration or inspiration; both parties performing the operation at the same moment, which is essential to its success. Fail'd in several attempts, but at last succeeded in one. The cause ascribed by Capt. V. to animal magnetism. Fort is a picket or stockade work which was not however occupied by the troops (2 comps. of Arty.) they being adjoining it in tents. Many of the inhabitants liv'd in its immediate vicinity from a sense of greater security. Visited some of them who were sick and found them excessively rude & ignorant. The common term for the Floridian is "Crackers," probably from their living mostly on crack'd corn. On my return stopp'd at Camp Hernandez occupy'd by a company of militia & commanded by a Capt. Thigpin. It was appropriately nam'd Camp Pigpen from the character of its occupants & its filthiness. Pass'd a large train of wagons returning from Fort King & Micanopy, also some companies of recruits going to Fort Harlee, Micanopy and Fort King. Arriv'd at Black Creek in the afternoon and found there Genl. Eustis and upwards of 1000 recruits. Genl. J. was also there. The amount of public stores there was immense, computed at \$1,000,000 and schooners, brigs and steamboats constantly arriving.

Nov. 1st.—The 2d Dragoons arrived to-day under Col. Twiggs. They amounted to nearly 400 men and horses. The horses look'd in good condition considering they had come near 1500 miles. Met many officers whom I had previously known. Found Maj. Gardner at the bar of

of Major Dade. From his Company A, Fourth Infantry, amounting to thirty-nine men, the two companies of Captain Fraser and Gardiner were made up. Captain Gardiner's lady was exceedingly ill, and it was much feared that if he then left her she would die. He however made every preparation for a start, and was present at reveille on the morning of the 24th, and mounted his horse in front of the detachment. At this juncture Major Dade voluntarily proposed to Major Belton, the commanding officer at the post, that he (Dade) should take Captain Gardiner's place. The proposition was immediately accepted, and the command moved on. Before they had proceeded far, Captain Gardiner ascertained that the transport schooner *Motto* was on the eve of leaving for Key West, where Mrs. Gardiner's father and children were; he concluded to place Mrs. Gardiner on board the vessel, and gratify his wishes by going with his company. He soon after joined it, but the peculiar relation in which he now stood to Major Dade induced him to let the latter continue in command.

"The oxen which drew the field-piece having broken down when only four miles from Fort Brooke, the command proceeded to a branch of the Hillsborough River, six miles from the fort, and there encamped for the night; from that place Major Dade sent an express to Major Belton, and requested him to forward the field-piece as soon as possible. Horses were therefore immediately purchased, and the piece reached the column that night about nine o'clock. Taking up the line of march on the morning of the 25th, they reached the Hillsborough River, but found the bridge had been burned and destroyed, and they encamped there until the morning. The difficulty of crossing here retarded their movements very much, and on the 26th, they made but six miles. On the 27th, they crossed the Big and Little Outhla-coochee Rivers, and encamped about three miles north of the latter branch. Up to this time Major Dade, being aware that the enemy was continually watching his movements, had adopted every precaution against surprise or

Lake George, 6 miles below Volusia, guarding the U.S. dredge boat which was engaged in clearing the bar. Both companies proceeded to Volusia. On our arrival there we found all the buildings burnt and most of the pickets. The whole place was overgrown with weeds and no trace of Indians having been there for a long period. Being the first approach of troops in the Indian country we were on the alert expecting every moment an attack. The first night we slept on board of the steam boats which being protected by 'bulwarks' render'd us in a manner secure from the enemies' balls. We had a field piece mounted at the bow of the boat with a port fire burning and ev'ry man slept by the side of his arms. We received no alarm that night and by the next night we had the stockade or pickets so repair'd as to be enabled to enter them. This was the third time that the work has been restored. Being under the necessity of abandoning it at the commencement of the warm weather, from its extreme insalubrity, the Indians are sure to burn it. It is consider'd an important point from its being one of the principal crossing places of the Indians, a plain road or trail leading westerly to Fort King & Tampa Bay and 2 going westerly—one to St. Augustine & another to Moschetoës. Volusia was the scene of Major Gates' difficulties and at that time was called Fort Barnwell. The spot where the men were shot at the time was just beyond a hillock or small eminence about 150 yards from the fort and about 50 or 60 yards from a hammock. They were employed digging a grave at the time when they were fir'd upon by the Indians and 2 were shot, one dead and the other severely wounded, but succeeded in crawling to the top of the hill where the Indians overtook him and carry'd him to the hammock and despatched him. His cries at the time were distinctly heard in the garrison, but the Indians appeared simultaneously on ev'ry side and prevented any going out to his succor. 2 days after his body was recover'd and interr'd, the Indians having as usual scalped and mutilated

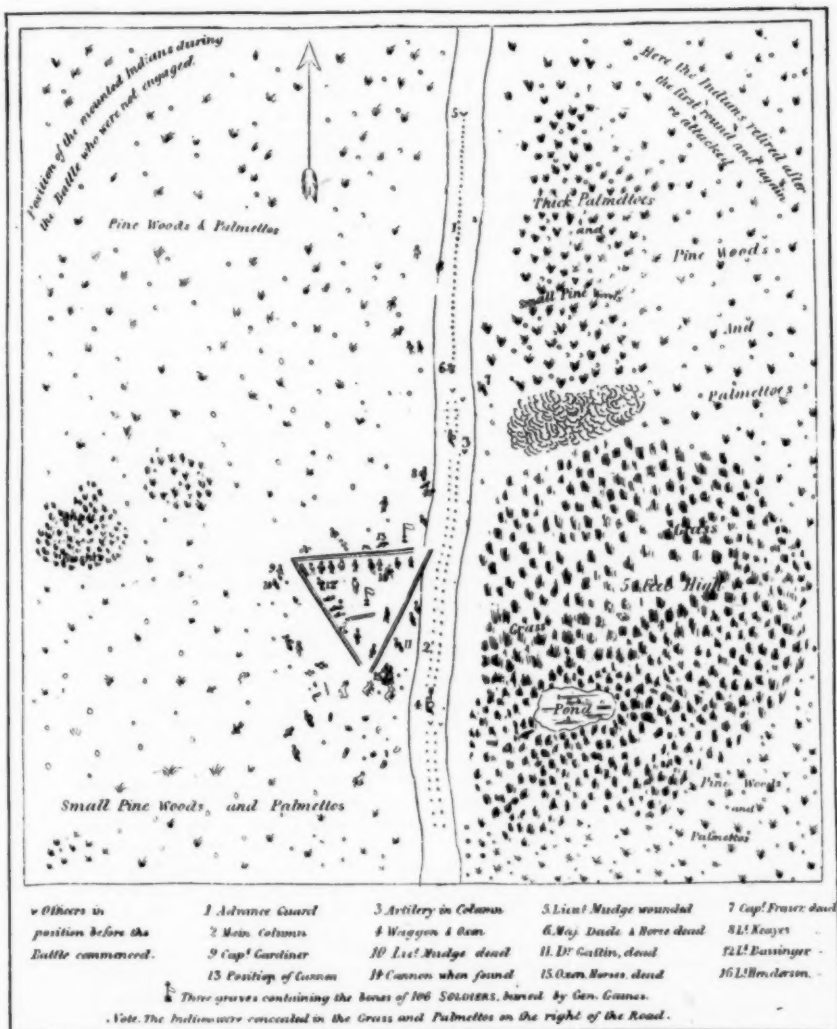
attack at night, by throwing up a small breastwork. Early on the morning of the 28th the ill-fated party were again in motion, and when about four miles from their last camp, the advance guard passed a plat of high grass, and having reached a thick cluster of palmettos, about fifty yards beyond the grass (see map of the massacre), a very heavy and destructive fire was opened upon them by the unseen enemy, at a distance of fifty or sixty yards, which literally mowed them down and threw the main column into the greatest confusion. Soon recovering, however, on observing the enemy rise in front of them, they made a charge, and plied their fire so unerringly that the Indians gave way, but not until muskets were clubbed, knives and bayonets used, and the combatants were clinched; they were finally driven off to a considerable distance. Major Dade having fallen dead on the first fire, the command devolved upon Captain Gardiner, and as he discovered the Indians gathering again about a half mile off, he directed a breastwork to be thrown up for their protection, but the enemy allowed them so little time that it was necessarily very low (only two and a half feet high) and imperfect. The Indians being reinforced, and having stationed about a hundred of their mounted warriors on the opposite side to cut off retreat, they slowly and cautiously advanced to a second attack, yelling and whooping in so terrific a manner as to drown the reports of the firearms. The troops soon began to make their great gun speak, which at first kept the enemy at bay; but soon surrounding the little breastwork they shot down every man who attempted to work the gun, so that it was rendered almost useless to them. One by one those brave and heroic men fell by each other's side in the gallant execution of their duty to their country. Being obliged

the body. Major Gates in consequence of not having afforded succor to him, was struck from the rolls of the Army by the President, but subsequently restor'd by a court martial.

Opposite Volusia was likewise the scene of another Indian attack in 1836. The South Carolina volunteers were at that time encamped at that place under Major Ashby, now of the 2d Dragoons, when the Indians from behind a small ridge of ground near the bank of the river all at once pour'd in a fire upon the encampment killing and wounding 10 or 12 men. The sentinels were all shot down on their posts. But one of the Indians was shot, the remainder immediately after their fire retreated into a thick hammock secure from danger and pursuit. The trees I observed were marked in the vicinity with numerous balls, some of which had been cut out by the Indians for the sake of the lead. A short distance from the place about a mile back from the river is a considerable opening where the army under Genl. Call encamp'd in 1836. Volusia is an old plantation and under the Spanish government was occupy'd as a post & agency for the Indians. A family by the name of Woodruff last occupy'd it, but were driven off by the Indians in the commencement of hostilities and one member of the family kill'd and their negroes taken. Not a vestige of the buildings remain.

From the 6th of November to the 30th troops were constantly passing by for Fort Mellon. Between 30 & 40 steamboats must have passed up & down in that time in transporting troops, provisions, forage, horses & mules, and implements of war. Col. Twiggs with the 2d Dragoons arriv'd opposite Volusia and incamp'd about during the 6th, 7th, 8th, & 9th of the month. Both men and horses were transported from Black Creek hence in steamboats. 3 days after their arrival they started on a scout for Oc-lah-wah-ha and were gone three days. During their absence Col. Mills with the greater part of his regiment (380) of mounted Florida militia arriv'd and encamp'd near the same place.

by the ineffective field work to lay down to load and fire, the poor fellows labored under great disadvantages, as in the haste with which the work was constructed they selected the lowest spot about that part, and consequently gave the enemy doubly the advantage over them. Major Dade and his horse, Captain Fraser, with nearly every man of the advance guard, fell dead on the first volley, besides a number of the main column. Lieutenant Mudge received a mortal wound the first fire, and, on gaining the breastwork, breathed his last. Lieutenant Keayes had both arms broken, also on the first attack; and one of the men bound them up with a handkerchief and placed him against a tree near the breastwork, where he was soon after tomahawked by a negro. Lieutenant Henderson received a severe wound in the left arm, but he heroically stuck to the fight and fired thirty or forty shots before he died. Dr. Gatlin posted himself behind a log in the center of the work, and exclaimed that he had four barrels for them; but, poor fellow, he soon ceased to use them, as he was shot early in the second attack. Toward the close of the battle poor Gardiner received his death shot in the breast, outside of the enclosure, and fell close to Lieutenant Mudge; the command of the little party then fell on Lieutenant Bassinger, who observed, on seeing Captain Gardiner fall, "I am the only officer left, boys; we must do the best we can." He continued at his post about an hour after Gardiner's death, when he received a shot in the thigh which brought him down. Shortly after this their ammunition gave out, and the Indians broke into the enclosure, and every man was either killed, or so badly wounded as to be unable to make resistance, took off their firearms and whatever else would be of service to them and retreated. Some time after the Indians left, the negroes came



THE DADE BATTLEGROUND

They had crossed the Ocklawaha but had met no Indians. Genl. Jesup arriv'd at Volusia the same day as the dragoons left but too late to accompany them as was his intention. They return'd as I have before stated after an absence of 3 days without having discover'd any Indians. Both the Dragoons and mounted militia, making a force of 800 men & horses, started for Fort Mellon by land. Genl. Jesup accompanied them. At the same time an order came for the 2 companies station'd at Volusia to repair to Fort Mellon. They were reliev'd by one company of the 2d Arty. An Asst. Surgeon was ordered on to relieve me and I repair'd at the same time to the same post, with the intention of joining the army there for the field. On our arrival at Fort Mellon we found the army encamp'd on a large clearing adjoining the lake. Ev'rything bore the appearance of activity and military preparation. The following troops were there at the time, viz.: 6 comps. of 3d Arty., 2 comps. of 2d Inf., 1 comp. of dismounted dragoons, 4 comps. of 4th Arty, and a body of recruits. The next day Col. Twiggs arriv'd with 2d Dragoons & Col. Mills with the Florida Militia and Col. Bankhead with a detachment compos'd of 3 comps. of 3d Arty. and 2 comps. of 4th Arty. which had been sent as far as Lake Harney to establish if possible a depot. This, from the nature of the country, they were unable to effect, no place being found suitable for the purpose. The whole force now present amounts to near 2000 men; Artillery and Infantry 1200, Dragoons and mounted militia 800. We found there a Cherokee delegation of 4 principal men of the nation with Col. Sherburne their agent sent by Ross to endeavor to effect a peace with the Seminoles. They left camp a day or 2 after to meet Micanopy & Sam Jones having previously sent out an Indian to apprise them of their intentions and wish. Pipes & tobacco had been sent by them to the Chiefs from St. Augustine. The result or success of their mission determined peace or

inside of the breastwork and began to mutilate the bodies of those who showed the least signs of life; when Bassinger sprang upon his feet and implored them to spare him; they heeded not his supplications, but struck him down with their hatchets, cut open his breast and tore out his heart and lungs; such is the report of Clarke, the only survivor. However, I must confess that the appearance of the body on the 29th of February did not seem to indicate that such violence had been committed on him, although one of the slain (a private) was found in a truly revolting condition—a part of his body had been cut off and crammed into his mouth! The negroes stripped all the officers and some of the men of their clothing, but left many valuables upon their persons, which were discovered upon examination by Major Mountfort, of General Gaines' command, and an account carefully taken by the major, in order to transfer the articles respectively to the deceased's relatives. All the military stores were carried off except the field-piece, which they spiked and conveyed to the pond, as marked on the map of the battle-ground.

Private John Thomas arrived at Fort Brooke the following day, having been wounded in the thigh and made his escape in the early part of the action. On the 31st Private Ransom Clarke, the only present survivor, returned to Fort Brooke with five severe wounds: one in the right shoulder, one in the right thigh, one near the right temple, one in the arm, and another in his back. * * *

The sufferings of Clarke must have been most excruciating. He says he crept on his hands and knees more than two-thirds of the way, having traveled the sixty-five miles in about the same number of hours.

The force of the Indians could not have been less than three hundred and

war. If the Indians come in, as many confidently anticipate, the war is at an end, if not we march immediately.

Nov. 30th. To-day 4 Indians including one sent out came into camp bringing Powell's family his 2 wives & 2 children, 2 or 3 other squaws and between 30 & 40 negroes, mostly, if not all, belonging to the whites. The negroes looked miserably wretched, almost starved and nearly naked. They were all dispatched the next day for St. Augustine. Previous to this (2 or 3 days), the Indian who had been sent from St. Augustine with the pipes & the talk of Ross & Powell, return'd to the camp bringing with him 3 warriors & 4 or 5 women & children, wives and relations and some of those captured by Genl. Hernandez. A day or two after, the Cherokee delegation with their Prophet Bushyhead and accompanied by Coohadjie left camp to have a talk with Sam Jones and Micanopy at a place call'd Faul Creek about 50 miles south. The object of their mission, as I have just mentioned, as well as instructions from Ross, was to bring about peace and induce these chiefs to come in. They were confident of their success. They were to return in 6 days. Accordingly at the expiration of this period they return'd bringing with them Micanopy, Cloud and 18 warriors. Sam Jones hesitated to come in himself at this time, but sent in his nephew. He said that as soon as he was assured that he would be treated by Genl. J. in the same manner as the other chiefs he would come in and agree to abide by whatever Micanopy said. Genl. J. in a former council had said that Sam Jones had behav'd so badly, had told him so many lies that he could place no confidence in him, and that if he ever caught him he would dress him as an old squaw. This had been told him by some of the Indians and he pretended the fear of this treatment deterr'd him from coming in at the same time with Micanopy, and he accordingly sent his representative in the person of his nephew to know in what manner Genl. J. would receive him. The next day after their arrival a council was held in the open air all the Indians attending & most of the officers

fifty men. This I judge of from the extent of ground which they must have covered while in ambush. Thomas estimated them at four hundred; Clarke's estimates vary from six hundred to one thousand; and Sprague thinks there were from five to eight hundred.

The officers who fell in this battle were:

Brevet-Major F. L. Dade, of the Fourth Infantry.....	1
Captain G. W. Gardiner, of the Second Artillery.....	1
Captain U. B. Fraser, of the Third Artillery.....	1
Lieut. W. E. Bassinger, of the Second Artillery.....	1
Lieut. R. Henderson, of the Second Artillery.....	1
Lieutenant Mudge, of the Third Artillery.....	1
Lieut. J. L. Keayes, of the Third Artillery.....	1
Ass't Surg. Gatlin, U. S. A.....	1

Officers	8
Non-commissioned officers and privates.....	96
Interpreter Louis and a servant.....	2

Buried by the army of General Gaines.....	106
Killed, day after the battle.....	1
Escaped, of which only one remains.....	3

at the Post present. Genl. J. commenced by telling Micanopy that what he said to him now was as a father to his children, that he spoke with a straight tongue and he expected him to do the same. That the Seminoles had often before deceiv'd him and he determin'd not to be deceiv'd again. He stated distinctly to him that he would enter into no treaty with them until they had all brot in their wives and children and deliver'd up the negroes taken from the whites and their rifles. That this would be a proof of their sincerity and he then could rely upon their being in earnest. When their wives and children had come in and they had given up their arms which should be preserved for them, he would only feel satisfy'd that they no longer designed mischief. To all this Micanopy assented. Genl. J. then inquired of the latter the probability of Sam Jones coming in and the length of time requisite for them to collect and be in. He reply'd that Sam Jones would do as he told him, and that it would require 10 days for those who were farthest off to collect their cattle and arrive here. Some who were nearer might probably get here in 4 or 5 days. Micanopy, Cloud & Coohadjie were each to select a runner to go out to inform them all to come in immediately. In the meantime Genl. J. agreed to suspend the marching of the army. The runners were instantly sent out furnish'd with provisions for their journey. Genl. J. in the meantime heard of the escape of Coacoochy & 19 other Indians from the Fort of St. Marks, where they were confin'd. This intelligence gave him considerable concern. Knowing the active and daring character of Coacoochy or Wild Cat, he was fearful he might make his way among the Indians and excite them to hostilities however pacific they inclin'd to be in their intention. They effected their escape thro' a small opening in the back part of one of the vaulted cells or casements in which they were shut up for the night. This opening was 15 or 20 feet from the ground or floor of the cell and only 8 inches wide by 16 or 18 long and cross'd by an iron bar. This they succeeded in removing and after forcing themselves through this narrow opening were then nearly 40 feet from the bottom of the ditch which runs all around the foot of the wall. From this height they lower'd themselves by means of a rope. They were not aware of their escape until next day or some 12 hours afterward when Osceola inform'd the commanding officer of the fact. He sent word to Genl. J. that he could have escap'd himself in the same manner, but he scorned to do so as well as any of his people.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]





CHIEF COMMAND IN THE FRENCH ARMY.*

FRANCE has been traversing, and is still traversing, a critical period. Without revealing any state secrets, the legitimate conservators of which are not accustomed to take us into their confidence, it is allowable to affirm with a positiveness, not chargeable with temerity, that our government has recently been obliged to confront, under the serious aspect which belongs to such a question, the actuality of proximate war.

Indices hardly mistakable—for they are too often repeated not to be significant—authorize us to regard as possible, and shortly due, the opening of a new conflict.

Hence every Frenchman concerned to forecast the future destiny of his country asks himself, with a certain degree of anxiety, What would be the probable issue, fortunate or unfortunate, of a struggle between the National Army and that of a powerful neighboring state?

He feels naturally the desire to have documents upon the moral and material strength of the two armies, which to-morrow may find themselves engaged the one with the other.

There enters into the plan of this article neither the intention of establishing this comparison, nor that of exhibiting the causes of the strength or the weakness of our presumed adversary; but it will perhaps prove interesting to inquire whether our own army possesses truly all those essential qualities which, in all times, have rendered nations victorious.

When the disproportion of the effectives of two armies face to face is not exaggerated, the power of each one of them is in strict proportion to the two following factors; the quality of the troops, and the ability of the commanders (literally of the commandment).

*Translated by Captain T. G. Stewart, 25th Infantry, from *La Revue du Mois* for M. I. D. General Staff.

Although it is well admitted that the question of material in usage in the two camps possesses a real importance, yet it exercises only a secondary influence upon the operations of a campaign, history so proves.

At Sadowa, Austria possessed artillery superior to that of Prussia. She was none the less beaten, and it would be very wrong to ascribe to the Dreyse gun of the victor the merit of the victory; for in 1870 our Chassepot, the best arm of the epoch, did not save us from the humiliation of defeat. It is true that the German cannon were, on the other hand, preferable to ours, but the Prussians four years earlier had especially demonstrated that an army can conquer with artillery material less perfect than that of its adversary.

It would then be erroneous to strive to impute to the character of its arms and equipments the initial cause of the success or reverse of an army.

The quality of our troops has, in these later years, served as a theme for numerous discussions.

One is notable to deny that the influence of the theorists, who persistently try to ignore the fact that the law of evolution works slowly upon the destiny of peoples, as upon that of species, has operated with success, and in a manner contrary to the warlike and patriotic instinct, upon some individuals; but the masses have not been disturbed by these new ideologies;* and the French soldier remains still the first of Europe.

More active, more alert, more intelligent, more enduring than all others because he has more of self respect, he is especially adapted to fight in extended order, which constitutes the base of the modern battle.

Left to himself, distant from the observation of his chief, he finds by instinct the place where he can most injure the adversary without exposing himself personally, and in the swift race with which he makes his advance, he has already seen the new place where he will take cover and again make use of his arm; in him is realized, in a word, the type of the skirmisher.

His moral qualities are so well known, that it appears well-nigh useless to recall them. Ardent, of easy enthusiasm, responsive to noble words, stimulated by example, the Frenchman is a marvelous instrument of combat in the hands of skilful chiefs who know how to gain his confidence.

But if he is capable of the greatest actions when his moral energy is thoroughly aroused, he is also very impressionable..

Easily accessible to discouragement, reverse prostrates him; and it is an fact of experience that in the dark hours of our history he has always instinctively thrown the responsibility of the unhappy events upon the chiefs of high grade who have commanded him.

In this he has proclaimed unconsciously this truth—more true in France than anywhere else—to wit: that the principal force of an army is not all in discipline, but in large part is in the moral and professional merit of its chief commanders. (*Haut commandment.*)

With troops really undisciplined, or so lacking in military training as to be only mediocre, Napoleon often secured the victory; but Napoleon was a man of genius, and his soldiers had faith in him.

In what concerns ardor and warlike experience we had at the be-

* It is far from our thought to wish, in employing these words, to do injury to the persons who, in good faith try to suppress war; but it is allowable to believe that the time has not yet arrived which will witness the opening of the era of universal fraternity.

ginning of the campaign of 1870, some troops such as we cannot hope to have again. In spite of this, it would be too easy and too long a task to write the book of occasions lost in this ill-starred war by a chief command inferior to its work.

In the present state of things, with its spirit of patriotism, with the development of a discipline which is only more thorough than it may be more sure the army leaves nothing to be desired with respect to the quality of the troops, it is worth just what its chief command is worth.

Every chief should try to combine the three following qualities; a great character, high professional merit and a good degree of physical activity.

The character is the master quality of the man of war. He who makes a decision, even imperfect, and possesses the necessary energy to follow it out even to the end—to the realization—is a better general than another whose conceptions are more elevated and more adequate to the situation, but in whom resolution fails in the course of their execution. It is an elementary truth that in war tenacity sometimes takes the place of genius.

Intellectual activity is not to be thought of apart from perfect health. The physical defects of Napoleon had some deplorable consequences upon the method that he set out upon in certain military operations. Character rarely finds occasion to manifest itself in its plenitude in times of peace, when the crises never arise to any very great gravity, and are a different kind from those of war. It results from this that above all it is the professional merit combined with the physical resistance that must serve as a basis for judgment with respect to our high command.

One may remark further, that if the firmness of character has not the necessary repercussion upon the professional merit, the practice of taking proper decisions, on the other hand, by inspiring self-confidence in him who takes them, reacts naturally and beneficially upon the character.

The basis of our estimation, therefore, although not absolutely sure, will not be wanting in solidity.

To anyone who has taken part in maneuvers of some extent, it will not appear doubtful that, aside from certain personalities whose names are known to all, we have no general command truly worthy of the name. The physical activity of the most part of our generals is notoriously insufficient. As to the allocutions denominated *critiques*, which close the days of maneuvers, they are generally capable, by their weakness, to chill the least accomplished of the military auditors.

The orator inexorably reveals in them the narrowness of his views by the petty nature of the subjects which form the basis of his discourse; no great military thought, no impression of the *ensemble*, no serious instruction holding the minds of the officers and leading them into meditation.

Some words, often some expressions, drawn from the strategic or tactical vocabulary that the great professors of the Superior War School, as the Maillards, the Langlois and the Bonnals have put in circulation—it is very necessary that these masters should express in generic terms of forceful general signification some ideas which, if even of the same nature, admit of notable differences in their application—all phrases disguising badly the absence of definite and reasoned conviction upon the instruction to be deduced from the events of the day.

To admit one's imperfection is to be strong already; since the acknowledgment implies the desire, if not the will, to provide a remedy for a defective situation. Now it is impossible to deny the physical inactivity and mental military inferiority of a large number of our generals.

It would be unjust, however, to charge all the responsibility to them. No one is so master of life as to be able to remain young unto the age, ordinarily late, when he obtains the stars; and up to the present, the formation of a general staff really adequate to the height of its great mission has not met with favor.

It was lately a wide-spread opinion in the public mind, as well as in the army, that the gravity of the circumstances would determine the bringing forth and putting in view the military genius called to become the savior of the country.

The great Condé will remain for a long time the prototype of those illustrious warriors who arise suddenly, as lightning shot from a cloud in the midst of troublous times. Everything tends to support the belief that the real military inexperience of this prince was greatly compensated by the wisdom of his counselors.

Not even Bonaparte was looked upon as a great captain spontaneously thrown out from the storm in which the revolutionary forces were struggling and on the point of sinking.

In his *Education Militaire de Napoleon*, Captain Colin, of the historical section of the War Ministry, has wisely done justice to this legend. He has shown that the chiefs of the army who have happened to win a reputation are not accidents; but that they owe their superiority in great measure to long and persistent labor.

It was said also, and is still said, that war is the only true school of war.

It is not to be contested that actual experience should be preferred to all other schools. Unfortunately, or better, happily, armed conflicts are very rare in our days, which diminishes notably the occasions afforded to military men to become men of experience.

Moreover, they were already quite infrequent in the century passed; and yet we were permitted to see a Prussian army vanquish, by war methods incontestably superior to those of her adversaries, the military power of the two principal empires of Europe.

Now, this Prussian Army had passed through a long pacific period extending over a half-century, during which time its adversaries, on the contrary, had made several campaigns.

It is then not absolutely necessary to carry on war, in order to be well prepared to conduct it.

The means of education employed by the Prussians to arrive at the results, extraordinary we may say, which they obtained, merit in consequence our whole attention.

As early as 1808 they had discovered the secret of preparing for war in developing a high degree of generalship without having recourse to war itself.

"Scharnhorst," says von der Golz, "transformed the miserable instruction of the officers into a veritable academy. An era of studies upon war commenced, and for the first time strategy was taught in thoroughly studying a campaign."

Later, General de Penker, commandant of the academy of war of Berlin, pointed out precisely the method of instruction that he desired to see applied in the institution that he directed. "The more the experience of war is lacking, the more important it is to have

recourse to military history, both as instruction, and as the base of instruction.

"Although the history of war should in no respect replace acquired experience, it can, however, prepare for that experience. In times of peace it becomes the true means of learning war; of determining the fixed principles of the art. It is undoubtedly the immediate source of all the practicable knowledge of war.

"The lessons upon the conduct of armies, of the nineteenth century in particular, will cause the auditors to march over the same route of the troops; and the better they embrace the psychological elements, whose part is so important, the more surely will the end be attained, which consists in re-enforcing the sentiments of duty and patriotism among men of warm hearts and cool heads, called one day to exercise elevated command, and there to make proof of those high qualities which the conduct of modern war demands."

Twenty years later, Marshal Von Moltke wrote: "The professor must know how to derive advantage from the instruction which flows from modern and contemporaneous wars. Military history, above all, must note the causes and connection of the facts, occupy itself with the direction and bring into view the spirit of war in the various epochs."

Von der Goltz adds finally: "The principles of Napoleon still form to-day the basis of our teaching."

The preceding citations reveal to us, at the same time, the source of our instruction in war in times of peace; and the manner of conducting it, or the channels through which it is to be rendered practical.

But instruction thus comprehended is capable of making only *pupils*; it is not equal to forming *masters*.

One can easily understand that the solution given to a situation in war, where the unknown facts are so numerous and so variable, cannot consist either in a sort of calculation drawn from another situation formerly experienced, or in the adaptation of an example learned now over-ripe.

War is always special; and demands always a special solution, often immediate.

Consequently, it is necessary that the knowledge of a given situation shall determine in the mind of the one who is called upon to solve it the unconsciousness bursting forth, *quasi-instantaneously*, of the most adequate military dispositions.

The Prussian method, as it has been described above, has then the need of something to complete it; and it has been completed in effect, by the order of ideas indicated in this connection by General Bonnal: "Once the general ideas and the technical knowledge are stored in the brain it will then be expedient to exercise the intelligence and character in combining them in view of resolving a series of problems of war."

Such exercises, often repeated, will augment the power of reflection; will enable the officers to more and more diminish the time of reflection; *to feel*, rather than to judge, the situations and to obtain in consequence results so much better, because they will be more spontaneous."

Reflective powers thus educated are not acquired except at the expense of effort laboriously pursued during a long course of years.

Their existence will not continue and become positive, only as they are carefully kept alive by constant interest.

The majority of our generals have never had either this training or this enthusiasm.

Now after a certain age one may still learn—one may even understand—but one no longer applies unconsciously. It is too late to set about the work, when the years have come; good-will is not able to make up for time lost, because the cerebral reflectives have become refractory to all education—the organ refuses to serve the function.

Thus is explained the professional feebleness of our chief command.

Have we reason to hope that the future will bring a change to this situation? We do not think that this is possible in the present state of our organization.

We have taken a first step in the way of progress in creating the War High School; but faithful in this to our habitual errors, we have halted in the good way; we have considered that the diploma, the brevet obtained at thirty years, must consecrate the superiority—however real, but momentary—of its holder unto the latest age.

In fact, we have laid the foundation, we have not built.

When the student of the War High School has seen the doors of that institution close behind him, he remains entirely delivered to himself.

A wearisome task of fastidious paper-work, concerning almost exclusively affairs in time of peace, greets him in the staff departments.

Of the preparations for war, of the studies ardently pursued during the two years, there is hardly any more question of it for him.

If, not content with the depressing labor to which his daily functions bind him, he has the courage to struggle still, and to work on his own account on the subjects which formerly at school stirred his whole life, it is in every case without direction, and often without encouragement.

After some years of this régime the good work of history, or of former tactics, is abandoned; for these do not serve to-day to augment the merit of an officer of the General Staff.

Thus the reflective powers which had been awakened sleep anew; and the daily task, combined with time, accomplish the work of destruction. It would be unjust to deny the efforts attempted to remedy this situation; some contenders of very firm character persist in the good way, notwithstanding the obstacles met along the road, and succeed in making themselves adepts; some ministerial instructions laud the exercises upon the map and upon the terrain, the base of military instruction; but the service of administration is so engrossing, its demands grow in such proportion, that the courageous men are rare; hence the regulation prescriptions without being followed by application, and progress is made with deplorable slowness.

If we should consent to modify our organization we must resign ourselves not to have for a long time any high command capable "of making proof of the great qualities which the conduct of modern war demands."

The Great General Staff, in distinction from the Ministry, is then an intellectual center whose activity has for its end to develop, in each one composing it, the qualities necessary for the conduct of war.

The Academy of War and the Grand General Staff, organizations absolutely connected, subject to the sole direction of the

major-general, fulfil a double purpose—to furnish auxiliaries for the chief command, and to furnish good generals for the future.”

The end and the principles of organization of a Great General Staff are contained in this quotation, borrowed from General Bonnal.

If one should wish to give to our War High School its necessary prolongation, it does not seem that a better model could be chosen, than this great Prussian General Staff, of which the Marshal Von Moltke, its chief during more than thirty years said, a little before his death:

“The next war will be one in which strategic science or generalship will have the greatest part.”

“Our campaigns and our victories have instructed the French who, like ourselves, have the numbers, the armament and the courage.

“Our force will lie in direction; in generalship; in a word, in our Grand General Staff.”

“This force France can envy us of; she does not possess it.”

It remains only for us to provide ourselves with it.

Character and intelligence—the two master qualities of the chief—are more general in our army than in any of the others; it will be sufficient to cultivate them. The recruiting of a great general staff will then be easy. The choice of masters will present at first more of difficulty; but there still exist some of those strong fighters to whom allusion was made above; their concurrence will be demanded.

As to the chief of the institution, the one who will be of it the head and the heart, it will be found by a fortunate hazard that in the hour when we shall feel the most sensibly the danger of the lack in our organization, the man will appear who is the most apt to fill it. But time presses, and we must know how not to be too hasty, if we wish that our grand General Staff should have enough of experience to be able the next day possibly—when we must receive the shock of the adversary—to make honorably its proofs.

It would be infantile to conceal from oneself his own imperfections; but if the ardent and patriotic desire to see the army—the safe-guard of our national independence—acquire the highest degree of material and moral force leads us to show the defects of our organization, it does not obscure the clear vision of the qualities that the race possesses and that are personified in some of the high military authorities called to the redoubtable honor of leading the French armies to battle.

And, moreover, however superb he may be, and however strong he may think himself, our eventual adversary is no less not without his weakness; and in the formidable duel which will decide the victory between us and him, nothing proves on the other hand that the balance must turn in his favor.

The first reform to be realized consists in the withdrawal of the greater part of our officers of the General Staff, and filling their places with clerks, or with officers whose preferences, as well as their physical and intellectual aptitudes, draw them toward sedentary position.

In this manner, the present officers of the General Staff will be returned to their real work—the direct preparation for war. It will be no longer necessary to initiate them in the secrets of the daily pacific correspondence.

But if the work is limited to this modification, it will be still imperfect; for it would produce only some divergent efforts the results of which, as mechanism teaches us, would be only nul, or very feeble.

We need a common doctrine of war. Produced from the human thought the doctrine will, without doubt be, incomplete and capable of improvement; but the essential is that it should be a *unit* at a given moment.

This would require the creation of a special organism, a sort of conservator of the doctrine; where, after their tours with the troops and in the staff duties, the officers designated by their qualities of character and intelligence for high military employment may constantly come to brighten themselves up.

"When, in 1857, Von Moltke, at the same age as the century, took the direction of the General Staff, he was only a brigadier-general and had under his immediate orders at Berlin fifty superior officers and fourteen captains, forming about one-half of the number of staff-officers of the Prussian Army.

"It was then possible to inculcate to the officers of the General Staff that a periodic rotation brought to Berlin, his methods of management for the conducting and subsistence of troops in war.

"Thanks to judicious choice, established upon the examinations of the academy and upon the probations, the General Staff represented from that time, 'following the expression of Von Moltke,' the intellectual principle of the army in its highest power."

"If the ministry of war forge and sharpen the arrows, wrote Von Moltke, 'the Great General Staff lances and directs them.

FIVE HOURS IN THE HANDS OF THE MUTINEERS.

BY CAPTAIN G. A. WEST.

(United Service Magazine.)

THE mutiny in the Black Sea Fleet in November has had its epilogue. The execution of Lieutenant Schmidt, as a result of sentence by court-martial, has raised a howl of discontent throughout Russia, which shows the spirit of acquiescence in any act however desperate, committed under the banner of freedom, which affects large sections of the community in this country.

The penetration of the revolutionary propaganda into the midst of the lower ranks of the Black Sea Fleet is already well known, and there is no doubt that the frightful and incalculable consequences of a successful mutiny were in this case only averted by the prompt action of the authorities, although at the cost of firing on their own temporarily imprisoned officers. This is shown by the following personal narrative of one of the fleet surgeons which also gives an idea of the terrible experiences these officers underwent during the five hours that their capture by Lieutenant Schmidt lasted.

"On the 12th of November, the battleship *Panteyleymon* hoisted the revolutionary flag, a man who had only arrived on board the day before being accepted by the crew as their commander. The cruiser *Ochakov*, whose commander had already refused to obey orders, also hoisted the red flag on the 15th. These two ships lay next to one another in the spacious harbor of Sebastapol, the *Ochakov* being farthest from the shore. On the fateful day (15th November), the weather was bright and the sea without movement, and it is to this circumstance that I and my brother-officers eventually owed our lives, and were twice able to save ourselves from impending destruction.

"At an early hour Lieutenant Schmidt took on himself the command of the *Ochakov*, and hoisted the signal, 'Lieutenant Schmidt commands the fleet.' Near the *Ochakov* lay, also with red flags hoisted, two torpedo catchers and three torpedo-boats not yet commissioned, which Lieutenant Schmidt had practically forced over to the side of the revolutionaries.

"Lieutenant Schmidt was not long in asserting the power he had usurped. At 8 A.M. the passenger steamer leaving Odessa as usual was stopped by the *Ochakov* at the entrance into Sebastopol, and had to submit to inspection by force. Some passengers, who were partizans of Lieutenant Schmidt, were taken off. At about 9 o'clock, along the sea-front and on the mole, a number of the inhabitants, more particularly workmen, began to assemble.

"Lieutenant Schmidt's first object appears to have been to sound the possibility of a general mutiny, and find out on what ships he could count for furthering his revolutionary plans. He accordingly went on board one of the torpedo-boats, and, with red flag hoisted, started going round the squadron. As the torpedo-boat approached close to each warship in turn, he shouted in a loud voice, 'God and the Russian nation are on our side. Whom are you serving? The revolutionaries? Hurrah!' As the torpedo-boat passed the *Panteyleymon*, the officers used all their efforts to distract the attention of the crew from her, but in spite of this, part of the crew answered Lieutenant Schmidt with a hearty cheer. Some of the officers also decided for Lieutenant Schmidt, but at this moment I did not think that the matter would take the terrible turn it eventually did. The other ships fortunately remained loyal, some of them singing the Russian National Anthem. While thus making the tour of the squadron, Lieutenant Schmidt approached the transport *Proot*, on which were the sailors arrested for the mutiny on board the *Potemkin* in July. He removed the prisoners by force, and took them, in full view of the whole squadron, on to the *Ochakov*, the whole while accompanied by uninterrupted cheering on the sea-front and rebel ships. Lieutenant Schmidt next turned his attention to my ship, the *Panteyleymon*.

"At or about 11 A.M., the routine for the day having been agreed upon, the officers and crew were just sitting down to the midday breakfast, when a steam-launch put off from the *Ochakov*, with Schmidt and forty or fifty armed men on board. Hardly had this been reported to the captain, than the launch came alongside. The army party boarded the ship without opposition, quickly arrested the captain and officers, and forced them, in company with the engineers and ship's surgeons, to go on the launch to the *Ochakov*. Once on board, we were all sent under escort to the captain's cabin, at the door of which stood two sentries. The officers had to seat themselves round a large table, while Lieutenant Schmidt occupied the place of president, and his son, a young fellow of sixteen or seventeen, sat behind him. A petty officer then turned to the assembled officers and announced, in the name of the crew, that if any attempt were made on the life of their commander (Lieutenant Schmidt), the offender would be immediately shot.

"Lieutenant Schmidt then addressed us in roughly these terms: 'Gentlemen! It is said of me I have sold myself to the Jews, and have been their tool for the last twenty years. This is not so; they are merely my friends. Imperial rule is odious to me. I have always been opposed to it. For the last sixteen years I have had a secret printing press. At the present time, when all classes sympathize with the movement in favor of liberty, the officers of the fleet alone are behindhand. This is probably the cause of the large quantity of addresses, congratulations, tele-

grams (700), which I have received from all parts of Russia, as the first naval officer daring to raise the standard of freedom. You know that our present government is false and worthless; that they have neither power, money, means, nor support from society at large. The sympathy of the masses is altogether on our side, as also that of the whole army and fleet and every large fortress. A large number of wealthy Moscow merchants provide us with money, one, Morozov, alone giving us millions. Sea-ports, such as Feodosia, Yalta, and others, offer us coal, provisions and suchlike. In a word, the victory in all probability will be ours. Only those Cossack spies stand in our way. To overcome their opposition, I warn you that for each stroke of a Cossack's whip, one of you will be hanged. I have already about one hundred hostages, and I shall have many more. In the mean time you will be given no comforts, but ship's rations, which we all eat on principle. I do not recognize the local authorities, and forbid all communication with them. An emperor is still necessary to me, as I know that without one the dull masses will not follow me. I propose that you should all sign the following telegram, which I am sending to the Czar: "True to their country, the officers of the Black Sea Fleet demand the right of meeting and the abolition of martial-law, and unless this is granted, refuse to obey your Majesty." We, of course, declined to sign. 'If the Czar,' he continued, 'refuses our requirements, I have the following plan. After taking possession of the fleet, I shall send my engineers to build batteries on the Isthmus of Perekousk, in order to cut off the Crimea. Thus, with the whole of Russia at my back, which will support me with a grand general strike, I will state my conditions and ask—nay, I will demand, for I am tired of asking—their fulfilment by the Czar. The Crimean Peninsula will become a small republic, of which I shall be president, at the same time commanding the Black Sea Fleet and the ports of the Black Sea. As conditions of your release, I demand the removal of the army from the town and the abolition of martial-law. At the same time I demand that our greatest enemies, the Cossacks, be given over to me. With them, for the diversion of the populace, I intend to have a national holiday in Odessa. In the streets and public places they will be fixed unarmed to pillories for public judgment. My requirements are, of course, political, but I have united with them the requirements of the sailors, for the improvement of their lot, as I know that otherwise they will not follow me. You will see that I shall obtain all I ask. I am confident of being able to pay the sailors 30 to 40 rubles (£3 to £4) a month. If I encounter active resistance on shore, I do not answer for your lives. If you value them, you may write, through my censor of course, to your families or relations, that they should bestir themselves to obtain the fulfilment of my conditions.'

"On one of the officers remarking that this was violence, he said: 'I am not speaking to you in order to hear your remarks, but simply transmitting to you the resolution of the deputies and crews. I myself decide nothing. I, at least, am no autocrat.'

"Lieutenant Schmidt at first refused to release even myself and another surgeon, a returned prisoner from Japan, but when I proposed to attend the crew of the *Ochakov*, he promised us conditional freedom and the right of going on deck.

"On leaving the cabin, we saw the deputies, among their number being two of our petty officers and a student. We went into another cabin, at both doors of which sentries were posted. Here they laid the table and gave us some ration-soup. At the end of the meal Lieutenant Schmidt came in and said: 'A town patrol has just arrested three of my

men; I am writing a request for their release, and until this is done, I shall give you no more food.'

"About 3 P.M. we heard the sound of firing from guns, rifles and machine guns. Evidently the troops on shore had opened fire on us.

"Lieutenant Schmidt came in and announced to us, 'I have just been informed that the gunboat *Teretz* has sunk a port-launch containing my men, and for this the senior of you will be hanged to-morrow.' A little later he came in again. 'The forts are about to open fire on us,' he said. 'If they do, you will all die with us. I am making the signal, "I have many officers prisoners."' Seeing the inevitable destruction which would accompany the expected fight, and finding ourselves at the same time at the mercy of armed men, for whom Lieutenant Schmidt refused to answer in case of bloodshed on shore, which had apparently already begun, we decided to write to the officer commanding the troops, explaining our position, and sent the message with the conditions of Lieutenant Schmidt. At this time it was possible to see (with the aid of the search-light, for it was already getting dark) a row of ten field-guns placed in front of Michel Battery and pointing in our direction. These, with some machine guns, soon started firing on us.

"After a few minutes Lieutenant Schmidt again rushed in, greatly agitated, and said, 'Now the fight is beginning, and you and your companions will be the first shot, as your side of the ship is straight opposite the squadron. Sentries!' he cried, 'shut the doors immediately, and don't let one of the officers out; if they resist, shoot!' The doors were banged, keys turned in the locks, and then began some fearful moments, when the first shots, evidently from guns of large caliber, were fired from the *Ochakov*, answered by the ships, forts and batteries. The *Ochakov* literally shook from the blows of shell falling on her from all sides. What went on in the cabin beggars description. Some pressed themselves against the stanchions; others lay down on the floor; others stood as if petrified; but all faces showed great fear, in expectation of what appeared to be imminent death. Nothing but a miracle could save us, so at least it appeared to us. A stillness of death reigned, interrupted only by shots or the whispering of a prayer. Suddenly a noise was heard as of somebody falling heavily. One of our engineers was killed. He had rushed to a door, which had accidentally been left unlocked, but he had hardly opened it, when a sentry fired at him point-blank and killed him outright. His body afterward burned where he fell. Almost at the same time our commander, Captain Mateywhin, was wounded by a bullet in the arm. Now also we heard the groans of another engineer, wounded by a splinter in the shoulder. Seeing a great flow of blood, I rushed to the wounded man and started knocking at the door, begging that it might be opened. This was done, and I asked the sentries to allow me to go into the hospital-ward in order to bind up the wounded man. The quantity of blood and the agonized look of the victim probably influenced the sentries, and they did not hinder our going, but some sentries accompanied us and stood by the whole time the bandage was being fixed. The wounded man and myself were both in momentary expectation they would shoot us. All of a sudden a quantity of water rushed in through a hole, and cries were heard: 'The ship is sinking. We shall be drowned!' The sentries ran off. Above were heard the cries of wounded men. I went on deck and saw a frightful scene. Wounded men were lying about in various positions on the bridge, calling hopelessly for help. The remainder of the crew did not know what to do. I overheard, 'We did not want this,' and they cursed the man who had led them into it. Panic reigned. Many, under the rain of shots, attached lifebelts and threw

themselves overboard. What made the situation still more desperate was that a large mortar shell had fallen in the boiler-room and produced a fire. Clouds of smoke were seen coming from the machine-room hatch. Sentries threw down their arms and left their posts.

"The officers, seeing themselves free, took a tablecloth and ran out of the cabin on to the bridge, pulled down the red flag, and hoisted a white one in its stead.

"The firing on the *Ochakov* ceased. We all breathed freely again, thinking ourselves saved. I, with another young doctor, set to work binding the wounded, although there were no proper bandages in the hospital-ward, but suddenly I observed that the fire was already near the powder-magazine, and that an explosion was imminent. I then lowered myself by a rope on to a barge which chanced to be alongside, and on which were already many of our officers and a number of the sailors of the *Ochakov*.

"There was no means of towing the barge, so, having shoved off from the *Ochakov*, we began to move with the wind; but we had hardly left the ship's side before two shots were fired from her guns, after which they began to bombard her a second time, as also the barge on which we were. Shots flew among the ships, and some fell on to the barge itself, narrowly missing our heads.

"Seeing this, the commander and officers at first lay down flat on the barge, and shortly after began throwing themselves into the water, deciding that the water was safer, the more so as the shore was not more than 400 yards off. Waiting first to see whether the firing would cease, I was obliged in the end to follow the example of the others, and, throwing off my clothes, jumped into the water.

"The sea was perfectly still, but the water was so cold that it was only the realization of the danger of remaining under fire on the barge that made us continue swimming ashore. The low temperature of the water, fatigue, and the condition of nerves in which I found myself might well have brought on cramp. I knew this, and feared accordingly. But luckily all turned out well.

"After fifteen or twenty minutes I reached the port-boat *Vodolay*. This boat was also on the side of the revolutionaries, and was floating a little on its side, but it appeared to be nearer to swim to than the shore. As bad luck would have it, the gangway was not down, and there were only some ropes hanging, by which, it appeared, the mutineers had just launched a boat and made for the shore.

"Seizing a rope, and not being in a condition, owing to the cold, fatigue, and my age, to climb up the side, I started shouting, that they might hear me on deck and come to my help, but no one answered. I waited thus ten to fifteen minutes. My arms became stiff with cold. Suddenly some sailors approached from the barge, swimming. They climbed over me up the ropes, and then dragged me up.

"By now firing had finally ceased. The *Ochakov* was ablaze, and the cabin, where we had lately been sitting, was already in flames. Those still on board were heard shouting, 'Help! we are being burned alive!' etc.

"They sent a launch and boats from the squadron, and many who had thrown themselves from the *Ochakov* and had not succeeded in getting on to the barge were saved in this way.

"We warmed ourselves in the engine-room until the arrival of a launch, which took us on to the *Ros Tislav* where I heard that Lieutenant Schmidt, at the first shot, had thrown himself overboard from the *Ochakov* and had swum with his son to a warship friendly to him, where he changed his uniform for that of a sailor, and, wishing to save his

precious life, decided to make his escape into the southern bay. But the warship was captured, and Lieutenant Schmidt arrested. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

"Thus Lieutenant Schmidt concluded his 'famous' (according to some papers) escapade, having lost the lives of some hundreds of hot-headed adherents, and having subjected to the danger of a bombardment more than twenty-five officers arrested by him, while he, at the first sign of danger, ignominiously deserted his post."

THE ARMY SYSTEM OF CORRESPONDENCE.

BY CAPT. H. MUSGRAVE, R.E.

United Service Magazine (London.)

IT is unhappily no rare occurrence to hear complaints of the trouble and delay involved in conducting business in the army through the medium of correspondence, and it is to be feared that such complaints are not always without justification. The object of these notes is to show that much of this creaking of the wheels of the military machine is due to the method of correspondence adopted, and that much good would result from the substitution of the ordinary system employed in civil life.

In the army the usual system of official correspondence is the minuting system; in the conduct of civil business the method of separate letters and replies is adopted. In the latter system the sender of a letter takes a copy of it (if he requires one) before its despatch (employing mechanical means, such as carbon paper or a copying process, for the purpose), and the recipient guards the letter and sends a separate reply, of which he, in his turn, keeps a duplicate, both parties being thus automatically provided with a complete record of the negotiation.

Generally speaking, communication by writing is employed in lieu of verbal conversation only with one or both of the following objects: firstly, for the immediate purpose of concluding a piece of business in spite of the impossibility of, or without the inconvenience of, or the risk of misunderstanding and oversight incident to, verbal negotiations; secondly, for the ulterior purpose of providing for future reference a permanent record of the transaction. In the humble opinion of the writer, the minuting system is, in comparison with the ordinary civil one, a far more laborious and tedious method of fulfilling the first-named purpose, and incomparably inferior as a means of accomplishing the second. Further, it is submitted that the minuting system exercises what may be termed a vicious influence, by lending itself to slipshod methods of conducting business.

To proceed first to establish the charge of inefficiency in the fulfilment of the essential objects of correspondence as defined above.

As regards the first-quoted object, viz.: the immediate purpose of concluding a question as speedily and satisfactorily as possible, the following are the principal defects of the system:

(a) The facts of a case under discussion are presented to the reader in the form of a bulky collection of minutes; many of these contain much that is immaterial to the last reader; many convey no meaning except when read in conjunction with other minutes, and in

exactly the proper sequence with respect to such other minutes; and further, a large number, consisting only of such words as "passed," "forwarded," etc., furnish no information whatsoever. All this matter has to be waded through and sifted out before a clear grasp of the essential points can be obtained, when first dealing with the case, and even, to some extent, when it is merely a question of refreshing the memory. If a file comes round more than once, it is often a matter of some trouble to discover what has been added to it since it was last seen.

All this demands a far greater amount of time and trouble than if the points requiring the attention of the reader were concisely stated in one clear letter without any irrelevant matter at all. In the minuting system, moreover, every person to whom a file goes has independently to go through this laborious process of wading through and mentally summarizing the contents; whereas in the business system, if a fresh party has to be consulted on a case he receives a single clear statement of the necessary information, and this can be readily drafted by reference to the last letter summarizing the subject matter up to date.

(b) Much needless mechanical labor is involved in making copies, or *précis* in registers, of minutes which have to be returned; such *précis* are often very badly made and frequently useless. This is one of the worst points of the system. In any correspondence of importance it is essential to keep records of the contents of communications which pass. In the minute system this has to be done by making *précis* or copies of all fresh minutes which reach an office, as well as of those written from the office. In the business system, where the sender keeps a duplicate of what he has written and does not expect the return of his letter, there is practically no copying whatever, since the duplicates of outgoing letters are provided by mechanical devices with little more trouble than if the letters were written in single, while the incoming letters are not copied but are retained. The minuting system also gives much unnecessary labor in "noting and returning" communications which, in the ordinary way, would need no acknowledgment at all.

(c) When, as sometimes occurs, two or three different batches of minutes on the same subject are going the rounds simultaneously, there is almost certain to be confusion and working at cross purposes, owing to the habit engendered of only considering a minute in connection with papers actually pinned up with it.

(d) Except at times when the batch of minutes on a question happens to be passing through the office, it is difficult to readily verify the existing position of affairs, unless, of course, the laborious recording referred to in *b* has been very completely carried out on loose sheets of paper pinned up together to form a duplicate file and not scattered in the orthodox way throughout the pages of a cumbersome register; such recording work is usually impossible. This is frequently an inconvenience, as, for example, when an interview, concerning a question under discussion, takes place at an office where the file does not happen to be resting at the moment.

(e) It often happens that several different points in a case might be dealt with simultaneously. Under the minuting system this is discouraged. The file is started round to clear up one point, and nothing is done as regards any others until the return of the file, when it is sent on another journey in connection with a second point. The principles of "one thing at a time" and "out of sight, out of

mind," are thus combined in a most pernicious manner, and lead to a vast amount of needless delay. A similar and very common case is when several persons have to be written to on precisely the same point, and the file is passed round to them all in turn, whereas all might have been written to direct and simultaneously.

(f) When, in the course of a correspondence, a "fresh hare" is started, it is a fortunate and rare occurrence for the original question to get settled at all until the fresh one has been thrashed out—simply because the minutes on the first matter get dragged about with the discussion on the new question, to the complete neglect of the former.

(g) Though without any direct bearing on the question of efficiency, it may be added that the minuting system causes the despatch by post of a very needlessly large weight of paper.

As regards the second object which has been ascribed to correspondence, *i. e.*, the provision of records, the shortcomings of the minuting system are equally serious—except when the established practice of confining the records of passing correspondence to entries in a register is departed from, and the clerical labor referred to under (b) above is carried to the point of making complete duplicates of files, an undertaking which is impossible with the usual clerical establishments of the smaller offices. Excluding the case of the office where the file ultimately finds its resting-place (generally, by the way, a head office, because, no matter where the discussion originated, the tendency is for the head office to arrange to have the file sent to it in the end, as much to save the trouble of making careful précis there as to centralize what records exist), the only record in any of the offices concerned consists of the précis which are supposed to be kept in the Correspondence Register. Owing to the labor involved in making précis, and also to the fact that the number of clerks is small who can be trusted to make clear intelligent ones without omitting any essential points, these digests are as a rule badly compiled.

It may be here noted incidentally that under the précis system the evil effect of the temporary employment of a bad clerk is irremediable, whereas, under the system of guarding letters, any disorder the correspondence may get into can easily be rectified at any time. Again, even if the précis in the register are well kept, with cross references and index, they form a very cumbrous record. It is a trying business to hunt out the course of a correspondence by referring to entries scattered throughout a massive book. The sole readily available record comes, in practice, to be the memory of the staff in the office, and when the staff changes all knowledge of the matter disappears for practical purposes. Even in the office where batches of minutes are actually filed, it is almost impossible to guard and index a batch, in which several subjects have been dealt with, in such a manner that any one new to the office will be able to lay his hands readily on all matter bearing on any question which may come up again.

This absence of readily accessible records leads to great want of continuity; questions are uselessly raised anew which have in fact already been thoroughly discussed and settled, and instructions are neglected simply through ignorance of their existence. Waste of labor and loss of efficiency must naturally result.

In the above remarks attention has been confined to the inherent defects of the minuting system and their effect on the conduct of

business. It may, perhaps, be worth while to consider also certain ways in which the system may tend to influence the manner in which work is approached, even though such influence may not be inseparable from it.

Since it is the custom to deal with correspondence by adding a minute to the previous remarks of others and then forwarding the file again, a feeling is apt to be engendered that no one is responsible for doing anything, in regard to a question under discussion, except the individual who happens to be in possession of the file for the moment. Such a view would undoubtedly be welcomed by anyone wishing to shirk trouble; the system provides him with a ready means of getting rid of a question and shifting the responsibility by just minuting the papers, on any pretext, to someone else; and after having done this he would consider himself in a position to reply indignantly to a reminder on the subject, by stating that the papers were "passed to the X.Y.Z. on such and such a date." It is almost like some parlor game; the thing is to avoid being caught in possession of the file; so long as one can do this, though it may not expedite the settlement of the business, one can have peace with honor—can shirk trouble without incurring rebuke for inaction.

The custom of passing on correspondence often leads to the result that officers, who might take an active and helpful part in the settlement, fail to do so, not altogether intentionally, but through sheer force of habit. Thus it may happen that the decision of a question which is being discussed along a chain of command may be really only influenced by the highest and the lowest in the chain, the officers in between not taking any active part. This may sometimes be right; but in certain cases it must tend to an undue amount of work and responsibility being thrown on the lowest subordinate in the chain who perhaps does not possess all the information necessary to decide it in the best way. In this manner the interpretation of the precise meaning of ambiguously worded instructions may fall on some one very far removed from the office from which they originated, instead of the ambiguity being cleared up at the first step. Much needless paper work also results from this forwarding on of minutes which might be dealt with where they are.

The habit thus leads to three distinct evils—wrong division of labor, loss of efficiency through the abilities of intermediate officers not being brought to bear, and unnecessary clerical work. If officers, instead of minuting on the minutes of others, had themselves to redraft in full all their letters, these evils would be avoided, because they would then pay more attention to the clearness, conciseness, completeness, reasonableness and necessity of their communications.

In conclusion, the following point is perhaps worth consideration. The power of marshalling facts and expressing opinions in clear, concise and unambiguous language is undoubtedly of great value to officers, and should be developed in every way possible. It can be confidently stated that a system of correspondence by single letters would do more to cultivate this power than the present system, under which officers are confined to expressing themselves in disjointed comments, conveying nothing to a reader until he has first laboriously mastered a mass of equally laconic contributions evolved in the earlier stages of the discussion.

THE HORSE SUPPLY FOR THE ARMY.

(United Service Gazette.)

THE question has been raised as to whether the various breeds of horses required for the use of the army are showing that ratio of progress which our needs expect of them. The horses for the cavalry branch of our service are drawn from many parts of the world, America, Siberia, Bohemia, Ireland and Yorkshire all contributing their quota, while for harness horses we rely chiefly on Germany, North America and Canada. It is, however, becoming more and more obvious every day that the sources of supply for harness horses on which we have heretofore depended not only for the maintenance of the peace establishment, but also to meet requirements in time of war, are gradually becoming less productive. The War Office are perfectly alive to the changed aspect of things, but ascribe it to the fact that the increased use of mechanical traction and motor power must necessarily exercise a depressing influence on the supply of the better classes of horses.

It is not that the number of various breeds has diminished to any very great extent, although a certain loss in that direction had admittedly occurred. For instance, if we take our own country, it is a well-known fact that the pack-horse for which Cornwall, Devonshire and Somerset were at one time so famous, is now, to all intents and purposes, practically extinct, and cannot be reckoned with. On the other hand, there appears to be rather a lack of support on the part of our Government to encourage horse-breeding in this country, when we compare what is done officially with the systems obtaining in other countries. Taking the case of our nearest neighbor, France, we find that the French Government expend over £300,000 annually in maintaining national breeding studs, and in encouraging and developing private enterprise. But France is not the only nation showing activity in this direction, for Germany and Austria are equally enterprising, and many other countries incur a large expenditure annually in encouraging the horse-breeding industry.

In Great Britain the sole contribution made by the nation for this all-important service is a beggarly sum of £5,000, disbursed yearly in premiums to breeders of stallions, by the Royal Commission on Horse-Breeding, and this in the face of the disturbing reports by those useful associations, the Brood Mare Society and the Hunters' Improvement Society, both of which unhesitatingly sound a warning note as to the paucity of the supply of good mares in the hands of the farmers, owing to the unceasing demand for them by purchasers from foreign governments. Undoubtedly the breeding of the type of horse we require for the army must rest with the farming class, and if the country desires to secure to itself the certainty of being well supplied, it must be prepared to liberally subsidize the farmer for this object. Only by such means can success be assured.

An alternative to this, viz., the maintenance of a reserve of animals equal to the probable calls which would be made upon it in time of war or of national emergency, would be an infinitely more costly process, and not a whit more satisfactory in its fruits, than subsidizing the farmers, irrespective of the fact that to establish such a reserve would entail an enormous initial outlay, which no War Secretary would have the temerity to include in his annual estimates. Sir Walter Gilbey proposes still another alternative, that the government should take horses from the breeder when they are over three years old—that is, in the later summer and autumn—when breeders can sell them at a much lower price than

when they have had to maintain them for two or three years longer. Discussing the subject in a daily contemporary, Sir Walter Gilbey feels convinced that horses could be purchased not only in large numbers, but of a better stamp, if taken at three years old, for, he urges, a horse that is worth, say, £40 at that age, would, if well fed and judiciously used, probably be worth £50 or more at five years old. He is of the opinion that we want the best to be obtained, in other words, the pick of the young horses that come into the market, and it is needless to say that everybody will agree with him.

Sir Walter Gilbey further advocates the formation of permanent remount depots in suitable localities, subject to their being of conveniently small size and well distributed. He favors small and numerous depots as being the most conducive to securing efficiency, combined with the greatest economy. Whether this plan would be the best to secure the objects aimed at is a matter of opinion, and one which we do not need to deal with here, but to make good the loss of 4,000 horses which is caused annually by the numbers sold out of the ranks, it is estimated that ten permanent remount depots would require to be established in England, Scotland and Ireland, each of which should be constructed so as to be capable of accommodating 400 horses, with the necessary staff of a training establishment, and a riding school as an adjunct. As the estimated cost of establishing these depots is £100,000, it would be just as likely to rouse the opposition of the "retrenchment" school, as would the suggested maintenance of a reserve.

In the case of draught animals, it is, of course, fondly hoped that they will be quickly superseded by mechanical traction, but even the greatest motor enthusiast cannot pretend to believe that, as things stand at present, horses could actually be dispensed with for draught purposes in time of actual war. That being so, we find ourselves face to face with the problem of where to obtain a supply of suitable horses in the event of a great war, for unless some practical scheme is evolved and its reliability tested in time of peace, the supply of horses needed for our artillery, cavalry and transport on active service will fall immeasurably below actual requirements, and the army will consequently find itself in a very serious position. Theoretically, Sir Walter Gilbey's remedy appears to be a workable one, but the drawback to it is that it would beyond doubt meet with bitter opposition from the "Peace-at-any-price party." A *modus vivendi* might be arranged by establishing remount depots in Australia, Canada and South Africa, to which each colony would contribute a half-share in the expenses. But it seems to us that the simplest way out of the difficulty, and one involving far less expense to the state, would be to transfer the subsidies paid to tramway and omnibus companies to the farmers of the country, and thus induce them to restrict their future sales to other governments, by our paying them a retaining fee on every animal kept in the country.

A SUSPENSION BRIDGE MADE OF WIRE FENCING.

BY MAJOR T. E. NAISH, R.E.

(The Royal Engineers' Journal)

THROUGHOUT the more recently settled parts of the United States and Canada, with their enormous lengths of single-line railways running often through what might be called a veritable wilderness, there is a great demand for cheap and readily erected fencing.

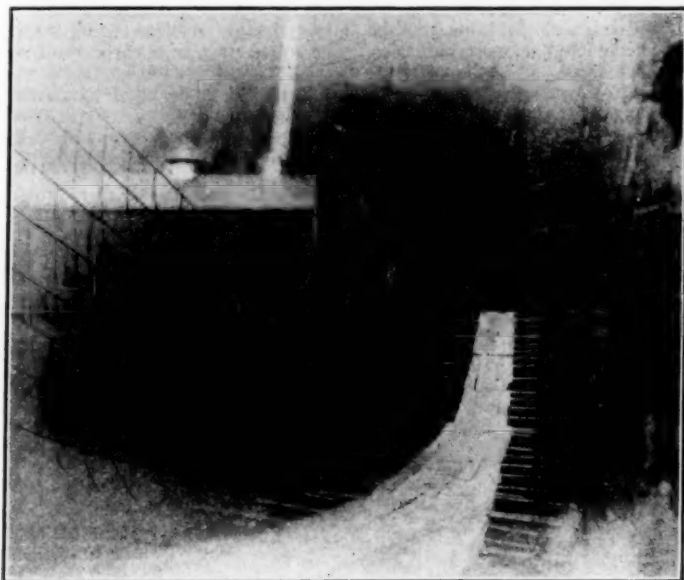
Such fencing is also much used by farmers, being less clumsy and not much dearer in the long run than the snake-fence of felled trees.

The "Page" pattern is one among the many types of woven-wire fencing (very much alike in outward appearance, but differing in manufacture) that have sprung into being to meet this demand.

Curiously enough this material forms the most admirable ready-



made material for a military suspension bridge. Such a bridge is shown in the accompanying photograph and drawing, as it was actually erected across 12-Mile Creek close to the power-house of the Hamilton Cataract Power, Light and Traction Company at the foot



of the Niagara escarpment, about three miles from St. Catherine's, Ontario.

The "Page" woven-wire fencing used in its construction consisted of a top strand of galvanized steel wire, No. 7, B.W.G., a bottom strand of No. 9, seven intermediate strands of No. 12, and verticals

of No. 13 gauge, at one-foot intervals, close twisted round the horizontals where they crossed them, the whole being fifty inches high.

The bridge was put up to enable the workmen engaged on the water-power development to cross a rapid stream between the huts in which they lived and the site of the works.

Three lengths of fencing were used, one for each side and one for the bottom; the sides being attached to the bottom by wire fastenings.

Trees 4 ft. 7 in. apart served for the piers on one side, and two 8 in. x 8 in. posts on the other.

The roadway, 2 ft. 4 in. wide, was made of 1-in. boards, supported on cross-pieces 2 ft. 6 in. apart and about 4 ft. 6 in. long; and is well shown in the photograph, though the wire of the fencing under and to the right of the roadway shows but faintly.

The total span between piers was 83 ft. 6 in., and the width of the 12-Mile Creek, where crossed, was about 54 ft.

The writer crossed the bridge once or twice on the occasion of his visit to the works, and in his opinion troops could pass such a bridge very rapidly. The bridge, moreover, has the advantage that it is impossible for a man to fall off.

The assistant engineer (Mr. R. P. Rogers) informed me that he has seen the bridge crowded from end to end by the Italian workmen, and Mr. R. W. Leonard, the chief engineer (to whom I am indebted for the illustrations), tells me that he has seen eight men swinging on it.

The fencing is most portable, being rolled up like a carpet and so transported. A few rolls of woven-wire fencing carried by field companies, R.E., on active service would enable a river or deep chasm to be bridged quicker than by any other method.

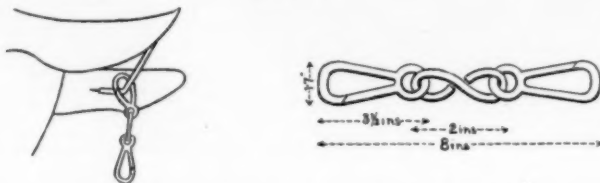
When used for a fence, the fencing is attached by staples to wooden posts.

A QUICK METHOD OF COUPLING HORSES.

BY CAPTAIN R. H. PECKHAM, R.F.A.

(*Journal of the Royal Artillery.*)

THE following is a modification of the method recommended in *Cavalry Training*. It is claimed for it that it is quick, effective, allows horses to graze, prevents them kicking one another and does not render the reins likely to get broken. The arrangement consists of two spring hooks fastened together: the accompanying dimensions have been found satisfactory.

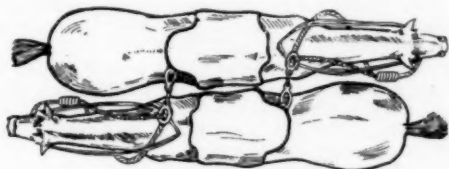


The apparatus costs about 6d. and can be got from any ironmonger and can be made up by the farrier.

The ones at present in use are made of black or galvanized spring hooks connected by a brass S. hook. They are carried on the appoint-

ment saddle, hooked round the bar connecting the rear arch with the tree on the off-side. When wishing to tie up the horses, the men, without dismounting, place their horses head to tail, each one takes his head rope *through his reins* and hooks it into the spring hook on the other horse's saddle; they then dismount.

Horses coupled in this manner cannot move far as they can only run round and round one another. They cannot kick each other. They can get their heads down to graze, but the reins cannot fall over their heads as they are prevented by the spring hooks if the horses are properly coupled.



In uncoupling, the men mount first and then undo the hooks. If a driver's saddle is used the hook is fastened to the D which is fixed to the tree for the purpose of taking the flank strap.

By fastening the horses in pairs by this method the first trumpeter can easily look after all the battery staff horses, thus saving several horse soldiers. It is also useful to signalers, patrols, &c., when out away from the battery, observing parties, and on many other occasions.

FRENCH BATTLE-FLAGS.

GENERAL NIOX, the director of the French Army Museum, has been authorized to compile a historical and descriptive catalogue of the flags taken in battle from the enemy by the French Army, and, if possible, to collect them under one roof. At present these trophies of French military glory are widely dispersed. Four hundred of them are in the Church of the Invalides, the Chelsea Hospital of France, and others in the Army Museum, in the old artillery depot of St. Thomas d'Aquin, in the Palais Bourbon, in Nôtre Dame, at Versailles, and many more in private houses. Few belonging to the Napoleonic era are left, most of them having been destroyed in 1814 to prevent them falling into the hands of the Allies, then marching on Paris. There were at that moment hanging in the Invalides more than 1400 flags captured in the wars of the Revolution and the First Empire, of which 280 were Prussian. To-day only about 100 of these remain, including some Spanish and Austrian banners, mostly taken during the Austerlitz campaign—one Italian, one Turk and seven British. Of the treasures of the Invalides captured in more recent times, 1200 come from Algeria, forty-four from Mexico and ten from Tonkin. More highly valued than all the rest are two German standards—those of the Sixteenth Prussian Infantry and the Sixty-first Pomeranian Regiment. They compare poorly with the more than fifty French standards hanging in Berlin, but the French say that the latter were the spoils of surrender, while the

remnants in the Invalides were taken in hand-to-hand fight on the field of battle, the first by Second Lieutenant Chabal, of the Fifty-seventh Foot, at Rezonville, and the second by a young Savoyard franc-tireur in the last battle before Dijon.

ROTARY VERTIGO AND SEASICKNESS.

(*International Therapeutics.*)

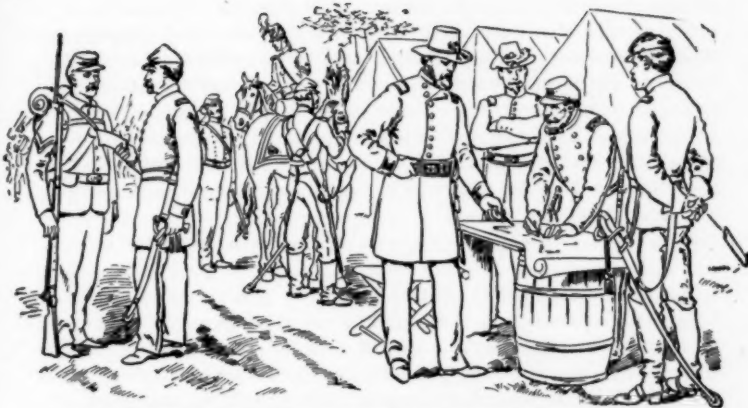
J. LEONARD CORNING, M.D., says he has studied the subject for some time, and now comes forward with a treatment which in his own case has proved eminently satisfactory. In the course of a series of experiments, he noted that certain remedies counteracted the vertigo produced mechanically by being seated in a revolving chair, and so he determined to test their efficacy in the treatment of seasickness. For this purpose he took passage on an ocean steamer, and succumbed promptly to the *mal de mer*. He describes the treatment in the *New York Medical Journal* and *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, as follows:

"Only a sickly hope made me fumble among the phials, whence came presently tablets of hyoscine hydrobromide, gr. 1-150; opium, gr. 2. These I swallowed at a single dose, adding, ten minutes later, resorcin, gr. 3, and nitroglycerine, gr. 1-300. From now on improvement was rapid. In ten minutes nausea had left me, and in twenty vertigo, too, had disappeared. A sense of warmth replaced the chilliness; a moderate drowsiness, the giddiness.

With this relief came a renewal of scientific zeal. I was seized with a desire for further proof. Could I by some further severity of testing succeed, despite precautions, in bringing on the symptoms? I went forward to where the spray was flying and the bow a-dancing up and down. Leaning over the rail, regarding alternately the reeling mast and the heavy waters, I sought to coax back some resemblance of the former sickness, but to no purpose. Torpid as I was at both the stomach and the head, neither the lurchings of the ship nor the nauseous wafts from the galley could prevail against me. For the first time in my life I felt all the confidence of a hardened rover of the sea. And with this exultation of immunity arose the desire to make others sharers in the necromancy.

"Of those treated, nine were completely cured; two were benefited, and one—an anæmic, hysterical woman—was apparently unaffected.

"For the rest, the plan of treatment adopted was that employed in my own case, save that instead of opium I gave morphine with atrophine, adding a little cocaine to supplement the local action of the resorcin. With regard to the hyoscine, it may readily be understood that the dose varied somewhat, according to individual susceptibility—from gr. 1-200 to gr. 1-80, in fact. Thus rendered centrally torpid, as well as at the periphery, the subject usually remained proof against both giddiness and nausea for from three to four hours, when the administration of a tablet, consisting of morphine, gr. 1-6; extract of *canabis indica*, gr. $\frac{1}{4}$; nitroglycerine, gr. 1-300 strychnine sulphate, gr. 1-60; resorcin, gr. 1; cocaine hydrochloride, gr. 1-6, was sufficient to purchase like immunity."



Comment and Criticism.

"An Army Reserve."

(New York Sun.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir*: In your editorial summarizing of an article by Major Weaver of the Artillery Corps, United States Army, on "An Army Reserve," recently published in the JOURNAL OF THE MILITARY SERVICE INSTITUTION, you omit to make mention of the footnote to the original article, which recites that it is from a report made to the War Department, March, 1899: and therein lies the damage. In other words, in galvanizing into life a ghost, you did not give the inscription on the tombstone, which should read: "Sacred to the memory of a scheme for an unconstitutional federalized militia as a remedy for the woes of 1898. Died of the generosity and wisdom of the United States Congress in building up the constitutional State militias."

When Major Weaver bases his advocacy of an organized militia federalized to the limit, and, speaking constitutionally, away beyond the limit, it must be borne in mind that he referred to the dark days of 1898, when neither the War Department nor the militia was beyond reorganizing to advantage. But since that jolt the War Department and the administration of military affairs generally have been overhauled, army officers have been studying the militia, Congress has acted, and we now have a militia, armed, uniformed, equipped and organized by law like the Regular Army, inspected annually by Regular Army officers, camping and maneuvering with the Regular Army, out-shooting the Regular Army, and gradually overcoming the

prejudices of the Regular Army, so that if in the next war we can't obtain, distribute and cook our rations and impress the Regular Army with our ability, our only recourse then will be to amend the Constitution and give the Federal Government a chance to duplicate the twenty-five million dollars worth of armories in New York State and the many millions more in other States and the privilege of paying the other four-fifths of the cost, which the States now pay, to maintain a National Guard of 120,000 men along the lines laid down by Major Weaver.

NEW YORK, August 3.

REGULAR MILITIAMAN.

It should be said in justice to Major Weaver, that his article, "An Army Reserve," is not a reprint of a report made to the War Department in 1899, but is a contribution based upon that report and recognizing the enactment of the Dick law in 1903 nationalizing the militia. Major Weaver and "Regular-Militiaman" are not in accord as to the promise of the law, although it may be said that as yet it has not been sufficiently tested, the term of five years for the "organization, armament and discipline of the organized militia" on the lines of the Regular Army not having elapsed. Evidently Major Weaver does not believe that the militia so reorganized and trained as provided for in the Dick law would prove such a reserve fighting force as "Regular-Militiaman" is sure it will be. [Ed. *Sum.*]

"A Hiatus of Military Law."*

Lieut.-Colonel H. C. Carbaugh, Judge Advocate.

Lieutenant O'Connor asserts the existence of a "Hiatus of Military Law" by stating in effect that embezzlement of Post Exchange or Company Funds by a person in the Military Service is not a military offense in violation of the Sixty-second Article of War.

If such embezzlement occurs in a place over which the United States has jurisdiction, it is punishable by a United States Court under Section 2, Acts of Congress, July 7, 1898, Chapter 576, 30 Statutes at Large 717, which reads as follows:

"Section 2. (3) That when an offense is committed in any place, jurisdiction over which has been retained by the United States or ceded to it by a State, or which has been purchased with the consent of a State for the erection of a fort, magazine, arsenal, dockyard, or other needful building or structure, the punishment for which offense is not provided for by any law of the United States, the person committing such offense shall, upon conviction in a circuit or district court of the United States for the district in which the offense was committed, be liable to and receive the same punishment as the laws

*See p. 205 this JOURNAL.

of the State in which such place is situated now provide for the like offense when committed within the jurisdiction of such State, and the said courts are hereby vested with jurisdiction for such purpose; and no subsequent repeal of any such State law shall effect any such prosecution. (July 7, 1898)."

If not committed in a place over which the United States has jurisdiction the offense can be punished by a State court of criminal jurisdiction, if the statutes of such State so provide.

He who would be an accurate pleader before a military court should remember that there is a complete separateness between the two systems of law, the Military and the Civil, that each has its own common law and that it is under the Sixty-second Article of War that the common law military has its widest application. Any conduct which is prejudicial to good order and military discipline, though not provided for in other Articles of War, is punishable under the Sixty-second Article. If the elements of the conduct as laid in the specification, or even in the specification and charge combined, are the elements constituting a penitentiary offense by the United States law or by statutory laws of a State or by common law as it exists within the State in which the acts were committed, the offender may be confined in a penitentiary. To this extent the laws of the United States and the State and common laws should be consulted.

Where embezzlement of public funds is laid under the Sixtieth Article of War, the elements in the specification should aver fraudulent appropriation of property of the United States therein described by a military person to whom such property has been intrusted or into whose hands it has lawfully come—following the general definition of embezzlement given by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Moore vs.*, 160 U. S., 268.

Where the conduct has only the elements of embezzlement of public property, as defined by Section 5488, Revised Statutes, U. S., it should be laid as a violation of the Sixty-second Article of War and such conduct is punishable by confinement in a penitentiary in view of that section. In such case the charge and specification gain nothing by use of the word "embezzlement" in either. Military law gains no jurisdiction over the person or his acts by virtue of Section 5488, Revised Statutes. The acts therein mentioned would be punishable under the common law military and the Sixty-second Article of War, if Section 5488 did not exist. That section, however, enables the offender in connection with the Ninety-seventh Article of War to be confined in a penitentiary.

The essential element of larceny, *i. e.* unlawful taking, was held by the courts absent in case of a servant or clerk who embezzled the goods of his master or employer given to his charge by virtue of his employment. To remedy the danger resulting from this doctrine a

statute was enacted in the reign of George III (1799), declaring such breach of trust punishable. This statute was a very narrow one. The broad offense of larceny at common law covered about all other cases of stealing; thus, when the offender lawfully acquired possession of goods, but under a bare charge, the owner still retaining his property in them, the offender was guilty of larceny at common law in embezzling them, because they were in constructive possession of the owner—so also, where the clerk or servant receives the goods for a special purpose or when they were not received strictly by virtue of the employment. Since the statute of George III the elements of embezzlement have been broadened to include other persons and kinds of stealing, and in some statutes the definition of larceny covers embezzlement. Most cases of embezzlement properly were larceny at common law, and the meaning of the word "embezzle" was well known thereto. Civil and criminal statutes of the United States frequently use the word, and though it is nowhere defined in them, yet the United States courts have no difficulty in knowing the meaning as hereinbefore mentioned.

Wrongful conversions of private property, whenever prejudicial to good order and military discipline, are punishable under the Sixty-second Article of War. If the acts are embezzlement as defined in a statute of a State where committed, in the pleading, that word may be correctly used to show at a glance that the offender may be punished by confinement in a penitentiary. The charge and specification gains nothing by the charge being written "Embezzlement in violation of the Sixty-second Article of War." The use of that phraseology would not cause the offense to be a violation of the Sixty-second Article of War. If the acts averred in the specification, or in the specification and charge combined, are by the common law military a violation of the Sixty-second Article of War, correctly or incorrectly calling them embezzlement adds nothing material to the correctness of the pleading. Calling the acts embezzlement is a conclusion.

Any kind of improper disposition of Company or Exchange Funds, or any private funds, the property of another, is a military offense. The Statutes of the United States and of the State and the common laws that exist in such State must again be consulted to ascertain if the offender can be lawfully confined to a penitentiary.

As to the Sixty-second Article of War, the Supreme Court of the United States has used this language: "The construction would not be unreasonable if it were held that the words 'though not mentioned in the foregoing Article of War' meant 'notwithstanding they are not mentioned' and that the article was intended to cover all crimes whether previously enumerated or not." (*Carter vs. McClaughry*, 183 U. S. 365.) This quotation is given as the dictum and not as the decision of that court. It is certain that a Military Court trying a case under the Sixty-second Article of War consults the common law military to ascer-

tain if a military offense has been committed and the mantle of that Article is too broad to be easily escaped by any wrong doer in the military service. It is also certain that stealing the property of another from his—the owner's—possession or when entrusted to the possession of the offender is a violation of that Article.

"An Emergency Draught Device."

Captain J. P. Wade, 2d Cavalry, A.D.C.

While in camp and on the march with Squadron "A," N.G.N.Y., this summer, I was given a practical demonstration of the working of a device used by them to assist the teams attached to their wagons. (See extract from official report following.)

In my opinion it would be a very good thing to have at least two of these issued to each troop of Cavalry and a larger number to each light battery of Artillery.

These Dutch collars could be worn by the horses of the cooks, who nearly always ride with the troop wagon. By their use the



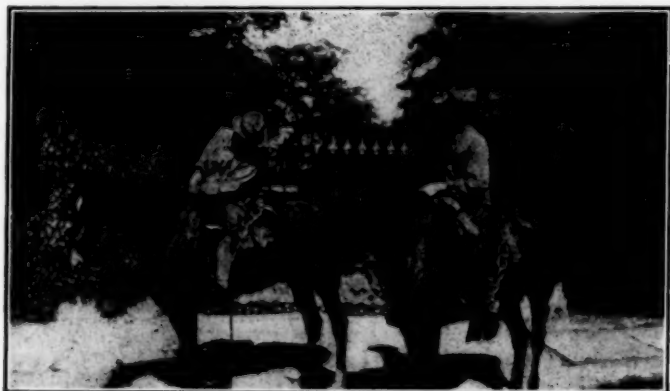
team's work on heavy hills could be greatly lessened. They are so easily attached to the leaders of a team that no delay is caused while on the march.

In light artillery they could be used to advantage when a horse is wounded or killed. By this device a gun might be hastily removed from a dangerous position.

The extra weight added to the equipment has to be considered, but I believe their practical value would more than compensate for the added weight.

Especially would it be of value where the teams are not of the best.

"The good progress made by the column while in march was largely due to the effect of measures taken by the Squadron Quartermaster who was in charge of the wagon train. Upon the numerous heavy hills which occurred upon the march, he avoided the exhaustion of teams and other difficulties by a system of auxiliary harnesses attached to the horses ridden by the details attached to the respective wagons, and these proved highly practicable and serviceable. The auxiliary harnesses so employed are an outgrowth from a rudimentary device adopted on the last tour at camp two years ago. The harness consists of a plain Dutch collar connected by a strap and buckle to the spider-ring of the saddle, and not very dissimilar in casual appearance to a breast-strap to prevent the saddle from slipping, for which use is also well adapted. To this collar rope traces are attached by snaps, and by similar snaps at the other ends they may be attached to the traces of the leaders of the wagon-team without even stopping the wagon. The troopers whose horses are thus employed may remain mounted or may dismount and lead the horses, and the efficient force of the team is increased from four to six horses. In case of necessity it may be similarly increased by adding two other horses, thus making an eight-horse team. The device is simple, and its use upon this tour of duty has shown it to be essentially practical; it is recommended for general introduction and use by cavalry in connection with the wagon trains."—*Extract from Report to the Assistant Adjutant General, N. G. N. Y., by Captain Herbert Barry, Commanding Squadron A., N. G. N. Y., relative to tour of duty from June 1 to June 10, 1906, inclusive.*





Reviews and Exchanges

The Service Score Book.*

THIS is a book of convenient size, its outside dimensions being $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which gives an effective page of 5 by 8 inches. The problem of how to make the book lie open upon the range has been probably as nearly solved as it is possible to do with a bound book by a form of double binding, the inner one being the ordinary tablet form with pages secured by wire staples. The back inner cover slides into a pocket on the inside of the back outer cover thus permitting a new book to be put into the old binding when the first has been filled. The paper is of a quality which will admit of the use of a fountain pen, if desired.

There are 88 pages of target diagrams, most of them containing two diagrams, arranged for all ranges and classes of fire with a commendable blank form for recording the score, weather conditions, kind of ammunition and the setting of the sights used. Six pages of instructions, which we believe are at fault in being too brief rather than too full since several points are not made entirely clear, cover the use of the score sheets and afford several suggestions to the rifleman.

We are much in sympathy with the development of a standard code of conventional signs and abbreviations for scoring. The author has made several important additions which are quite satisfactory with this one exception. We would suggest the adoption of a small circle, instead of a dot, to mark the position of hits, for the reason that when the X, marking the called shot, is connected to the dot by a line, probably with a dull soft pencil, the location of the dot would be obscured. The circle should be small enough to prevent confusion.

The use of the degree sign to indicate divisions of the wind gauge is open to quite serious objection in view of the growing use of micrometers graduated in degrees for setting the rear sight elevation.

The idea of giving the shooter the correct wind gauge setting for a certain velocity of wind from all directions is excellent; since it is

*The Service Score Book. The Service Co., Watertown, N. Y., 1906.

practically impossible to clear up the theory of wind components to the satisfaction of the average rifleman. This helps him over his greatest obstacle. Why not take the next step and give him the same information for all velocities of wind? We are convinced that not many men can go through a process of mental arithmetic under the stress and excitement of rifle practice and that still fewer will do so.

The innovation of locating the shots which strike within a space one foot and two feet in front of the skirmish targets should prove a great help in increasing these scores.

We would state, lest our opinion of the value of this book be misunderstood, that it has been our purpose in this review to offer suggestions for improvements whenever they have occurred to us. The aim of this score book is to be an aid to the individual in the systematic study and perfection of his own rifle practice. The value of such a record is now so far beyond question as to require no argument in its support. This book should serve its purpose well.

MARK L. IRELAND,
1st Lieut. Ordnance Dept., U. S. Army.

Our Exchanges.

Army and Navy Life.—(July.)—The Reconstruction at San Francisco. Search for William Jones. Summer Encampments. A Better Volunteer Army. Military Spain. The Schneider-Canet Artillery. The Speed of Men-of-War. (August.)—Fitness to Win. The French Cavalry School at Saumur. Work of the Regular Army at San Francisco. Three Privates at San Francisco. How the Garrison got even. Our Uniform Abroad. On the way to China in 1900. The Regular in San Francisco. The Militia Forces. Correspondence of Major-General Jackson.

Journal of the Association of Military Surgeons.—(July.)—Prevention of Disease in the Army, and the Best Method of Accomplishing that Result. Practical Methods for the Purification of Drinking Water. Transport Model for Conveying Recumbent Wounded over Rough and Mountainous Roads. A Much Needed and Easily Effected Reform in Camp Sanitation. Some Physical Effects of Gun Fire. Malaria and Mosquitoes at Lucena Barracks, P. I. (August.)—Medico-Military Notes in Manchuria. The Status of the Hospital Ship in War. Gunshot Wounds in the Abdomen. The Roll of Honor for 1904-1905. The X Ray in Military Surgery.

Journal of the Royal Artillery.—(June.)—The Blowing up of the S.S. Chatham in the Suez Canal. A Brief Summary of the Chitral Campaign, 1895. Retreat from Kabul, 6th to 13th January, 1842. Field-Gun of 1906. Angular Width of Single Battery Targets. (July.)—Organization and Duties of Ammunition Columns and Parks, with Reference to the Changes Necessitated by the Introduction of Q. F. Guns and Magazine Rifles. Suggestion for the Simplification of Procedure in Laying Out Lines of Fire and Switches from Concealed positions. A Quick Method of Coupling Horses. Recent Developments in the Rôle of Mountain Artillery.

Journal of the Royal United Service Institution.—(June.)—Military Hygiene on Active Service. The Use of the Motor Car in Warfare. The Shortage of Officers in the Army. From Port Arthur to Mukden with Nogi. Some Lessons of the Russo-Japanese War. (July.)—Standards of the King's Regiment of Life Guards. The Colonies and Imperial Defence: The Question of the Provision of an Imperial Service Army Reserve. Military Ballooning. Some Lessons of the Russo-Japanese War. The Black Sea Shore. Some Stray Thoughts of a Soldier.

Journal of the U. S. Artillery.—(May-June.)—Perforation Formulas. United States Field-Artillery Harness. Descriptive Cards for Public Animals. A Contribution to Interior Ballistics. Teachings of the Russo-Japanese War.

Journal of the U. S. Cavalry Association.—(July.)—Team Work in War. The Gun Sling. Better Marksmanship. Small Arms Firing at Unknown Distances. Range Finding for Infantry and Cavalry. Saber *vs.* Revolver *vs.* Carbine. Revolver *vs.* Saber. A Plea for Pistol Practice. The Federated Malay States. Individual Target Coaching Cards. Effort—Opportunity. Pack Transportation. The Stopping Power of a Bullet.

Journal of the U. S. Infantry Association.—(July.)—Chances in War Infantry. The Circum-Baikal Railroad. Mounting *versus* Mounted Infantry. Reserve Officers and Their Instruction. Military Landing Operations. Mounted Infantry. A Proposed New Gun Sling. A Tactical Exercise.

Proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute.—The Elements of Field Tactics. Reflections, Historic and Other. Earliest English. Small Arm Training in the Navy. The Conditions of the Continental Naval Service. With the Baltic Fleet at Tsushima. The Modern General Mess. Wanted: A Synthetic Wireless. A System of Instruction and Exercise in Flag-Signals. For the Broader Study of Tactics.

Royal Engineers Journal.—(July.)—Engineer Reserves. An Ideal Field Company, R. E. A Suspension Bridge Made of Wire Fencing. The R. E. in British Columbia. Temporary Works on Service. (August.)—Shed for Dirigible Balloon at Aldershot. Communication Services. Some Considerations in the Designs of Fortifications. The Nation and the Military Spirit. Ruberoid and Uralite as Roof Coverings.

The Cavalry Journal (London.)—(July.)—An English "Galloper." The Balance of the Horse. The Grand International. The Squadron Cup Finals, 1920. The Treasure Hunt Scheme. The Development of the Sword. The Russian Cavalry in the War with the Japanese. Cromwell's Cavalry. My First Experiences in Search of Remounts. The Scout Master. General Scouting Tips. How to Carry Out Orders. Horse-shoes for Military Purposes.

United Service Magazine (London.)—(July.)—A Military Policy for Great Britain. The National Service Problem. Quality *versus* Quantity. The Springboard of Guess. The Hundred Years War. Military Forces of the Colonies. Some Ideas of the Mili-

tary Education of the Officer. Thrift and the Soldier. Militia Principle Applied to R. E. Field Units. General Causes of the Russian Defeats. A Retrospect of Austerlitz. August.—England's Naval Supremacy is Threatened? With the "Mosquito," Fleet in War. The Prestige of the British Army in Danger from Defects in Training. Does it Pay to Serve One's Country? The Hundred Years War. The Curse of Cosmopolitanism. Great Britain's Position as Guarantor of Belgium's Neutrality. The Campaigns of Napoleon. How to Induce a Better Class of Men to Enter the Army. A West African Expedition. General Causes of the Russian Defeats.

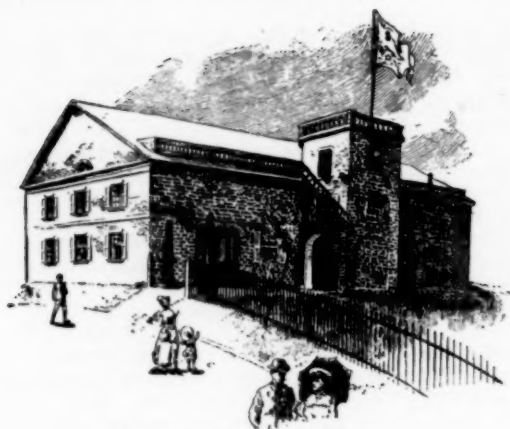
Miscellaneous.

Annals de la Sociedad Cientifica Argentina, regular issues to date.
Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular: regular issues, to date.
Boletin del Centro Naval: regular issues, to date.
Bulletin American Geographical Society: regular issues, to date.
Current Literature: regular issues, to date.
Journal of the Western Society of Engineers: regular issues, to date.
La Belgique Militaire: regular issues, to date.
Political Science Quarterly: regular issues, to date.
Proceedings of the American Society of Civil Engineers: to date.
Review of Reviews: regular issues, to date.
Revue du Cercle Militaire: regular issues, to date.
Revista di Artiglieria e Genio: regular issues, to date.
Revista Maritima: regular issues, to date.
The Scientific American: regular issues, to date.
The Popular Science Monthly: regular issues, to date.
The Seventh Regiment Gazette: regular issues, to date.
The Medical Record: regular issues, to date.
The Century Magazine: regular issues, to date.
The Magazine of History: regular issues, to date.
The Texas National Guard Journal: regular issues, to date.
The Army and Navy Journal: regular issues, to date.
The N. Y. Historical Society Coll. regular issues, to date.
The Pennsylvania Magazine: regular issues, to date.
The Arrow. Carlisle Indian School.

Received for Library and Review.

Annual Report of the Commandant, Engineer School. June 30, 1905. (Washington.) Gov. Printing Office, 1905.
Personal Hygiene, Designed for Undergraduates. By A. A. Woodhull, M.D. Brig.-Gen. U. S. A., Retired. (New York.) John Wiley & Sons, 1906.
The Army Hand-Book of Physical Training. (London.) Gale & Polden, Ltd., 1906.
Guide to Military History and Military Examinations. Part II. Peninsular War, 1811-13. By Capt. G. P. A. Phillips. (London.) Gale & Polden, Ltd., 1906.
The Soldier's Score Book for U. S. Mag. Rifle Model 1903 (The Springfield). By Captain E. T. Conlev, Eighth U. S. Infantry (Kansas City, Mo.) Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., 1906.

- The Fight for Canada.* A Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War. By William Wood, Major in the Canadian Militia, etc. (Boston.) Little, Brown & Company, 1906.
- The Army of the Potomac, from 1861 to 1863.* By Samuel Livingston French. Publishing Society of New York, 1906.
- Some Considerations Connected with the Formations of Infantry in Attack and Defence.* By Brig.-Gen. T. D. Pilcher, C. B., A. D. C. (London.) Aldershot Mil. Society, 1906.
- Who's Who in America.* 1906-1907. Edited by J. W. Leonard. (Chicago.) A. N. Marquis & Co., 1906.
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- Five Years a Dragoon ('49 to '54).* By Percival G. Lowe. (Kansas City, Mo.) Franklin Hudson Pub. Co., 1906.
- The Nth Foot in War.* By M. B. Stewart, Captain U. S. A. (Kansas City, Mo.) Franklin Hudson Pub. Co., 1906.
- Organization and Tactics.* By Arthur L. Wagner, Late Military Secretary, Gen. Staff U. S. A., etc. Revised by Capt. M. Craig, First Cav., Capt. H. J. Brees and First Lieut. L. A. J. Chapman, First Cav. (Kansas City, Mo.) Franklin Hudson Pub. Co., 1906.
- Half Century of a West Point Class, 1850 to 1854.* By Henry L. Abbot, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. (Boston.) Thomas Todd, 1906.
- Team-Work in War.* By G. O. Squier, Major Signal Corps, U. S. A.
- Frederick the Great and The United States.* By J. G. Rosengarten. (Lancaster, Pa.) 1906.
- Some Lessons from the Russo-Japanese War.* By Col. J. A. L. Haldane, C. B., D. S. O. (London.) Hugh Rees, Ltd., 1906.
- Active Service Pocket Book.* By Bertram Stewart, Lieut., West Kent Imperial Yeomanry. (London.) Gale & Polden, Ltd., 1906.
- Suggestions to Military Riflemen.* By Lieut. Townsend Whelen, 30th Infantry. (Kansas City, Mo.), Franklin Hudson Pub. Co., 1906.
- A Complete Handbook for the Hospital Corps of the U. S. Army and Navy, and State Military Forces.* By Charles Field Mason, Major and Surgeon, U. S. Army. (New York.) William Wood & Co., 1906.
- The Maneuver and the Umpire.* By Major Eben Swift, Twelfth Cavalry. (Fort Leavenworth.) 1906.
- The Seal and Arms of Pennsylvania.* By James Evelyn Pilcher. (Harrisburg.) State Printer, 1902



THE MUSEUM OF THE MILITARY SERVICE DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
LAFAYETTE PLACE, NEW YORK HABER.

Editor's Bulletin.

Accessions to
Library
and
Museum.

THE Museum has received the following Exhibits, under an arrangement with and by authority of the War Department.

Quartermaster General (through Depot Quartermaster, N. Y. City.)

1 soldier's trunk locker.

Commissary General.

2 cans emergency ration.

Surgeon General (through Post Surgeon, Fort Jay, N. Y.)

1 regimental chest sterilizer; 1 medical and surgical chest for detached service; 1 medical chest; 1 regimental surgical chest; 1 mess chest, small; 1 hospital corps pouch; 1 orderly's pouch; 1 litter.

Chief of Engineers:

One reconnaissance outfit, as follows: 1 calvary sketching case, No. 312; 1 prismatic compass, No. 348; 1 box compass, No. 82; 2 cell. rect. protractors, No. 945-6; 1 clinometer, service, No. 531; 1 pace tally, No. 897; 1 pedometer, No. 378; 1 odometer, No. 18; 1 field notebook; 1 field note pad; 1 reconnaissance box, No. 480.

Chief of Ordnance (through C. O., N. Y. Arsenal).

1 Colt's revolver, cal. .38, model 1903; 1 model, $\frac{1}{16}$ scale of 12-inch rifle, model 1900 on 12-inch dis; carr., L. F. model 1901; 1 model, $\frac{1}{16}$ scale of 12 inch mor-

tar, on 12 inch mortar carr., model 1896; 1 model, 1/4 scale of 6-inch R. F. gun, model 1900, on 6-inch barb. carr., model 1900; 1 complete set of infantry equipments, latest design; 1 complete set of cavalry accoutrements, with revolver lanyard, latest design; 1 complete set of horse equipments, latest design; 1 U. S. magazine rifle, cal. .30, model 1903, with 1905 sight and knife bayonet, complete with appendages; 1 section 3-in. field artillery material, model 1902, including gun, carriage, 2 limbers, caisson and 12 metal horses with harness.

The
Hancock
Prize.

For Hancock Prize for 1905-06 (\$50 and Certificate of Award) was won by Capt. Frank A. Wilcox, Adjutant Thirteenth Infantry for his "Short Papers" essay "The Torpedo for Coast Defense."

Back
Numbers:

Back Numbers of the Journal are wanted as follows:
Nos. 134, 136, 140, 141, 142 for which 50 cents each will be paid by the SECRETARY, Governor's Island, N. Y.

Register
of
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The Register of Members is being mailed to all entitled to receive it as fast as our office force can handle the edition; only two hundred copies remain to be delivered and these will be forwarded with as little delay as possible.



Journal
of the
Military
Service
Institution
1878
1906

Governor's
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THE JOURNAL

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1906



OME of the papers approved for early publication in *JOURNAL* for the year 1906.

I. "THE ORGANIZATION OF A MILITARY RESERVE FOR THE UNITED STATES."—By Lieut. Charles H. Mason, 8th Infantry.

II. "THE SCIENCE OF RIFLE PRACTICE, ADAPTED TO COMPANY INSTRUCTION." (Ill.)—By Lieut. Mark L. Ireland, Ordnance Department.

III. "NOTES OF A VISIT TO SOME FOREIGN ARMIES." (Ill.)—By Capt. T. H. Low, U.S.M.C.

IV. "THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM." (Including the rescue of belligerents by neutrals at sea.) Graduating Thesis, Department of Law, Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Class of 1905.—By Capt. W. D. Connor, Corps of Engineers.

V. "NAPOLEON AT THE SIEGE OF TOULON."—By Lieut. G. V. S. Quackenbush, 23d Infantry.

VI. "GETTYSBURG NOTES; THE OPENING GUN." (Ill.)—By Col. John H. Calef, U.S.A.

VII. "TYPES AND TRADITIONS OF THE OLD ARMY" will in the near future comprise for publication "Gleanings from the Post Records of an Early Cavalry School of Practice," compiled by Major William A. Mercer, 11th Cavalry, Superintendent Carlisle Indian School.

VIII. "MILITARY MISCELLANY" will be the title of a new department of the *JOURNAL*, to comprise paragraphs on current affairs, notices of new inventions or improvements, etc., and to begin with the number for January, 1907.

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE invites contributions of original papers, translations and comments upon current topics. Attention is called to "Gold Medal," "Seaman," "Short Paper," and "Santiago" prizes described elsewhere.

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No Address changed without Notice.



Annual Prizes, 1906

(For Rules governing awards, see January, March or July number).

Gold and Silver Medals

First Prize—Gold Medal, \$100 and Life Membership.

Second Prize—Silver Medal, \$50 and Honorable Mention.

Subject: *"What System of Promotions and Retirements will Secure the Highest Degree of Efficiency in the Commissioned Personnel of the U. S. Army."*

The Seaman Prize

First Prize—One Hundred Dollars in Gold.

Second Prize—Fifty Dollars.

Subject: *"Military Hygiene, and How Can the People of the United States be Educated to Appreciate its Necessity?"*

The Santiago Prize*

Prize—Fifty Dollars.

Subject: *"For the Best Original Article Upon Matters Tending to Increase the Efficiency of the Individual Soldier, the Squad, Company, Troop or Battery, Published in the Journal of The Military Service Institution within the current year."*

Short Paper Prizes

Prizes—Fifty Dollars (each).

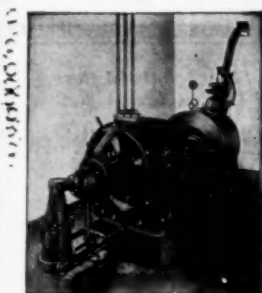
Subjects: *Best Essay on Matters Directly Affecting the Line ("Hancock"), and the General Service ("Fry"), Respectively, Published in the Journal During a Twelvemonth.*

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BEAR IN MIND that the ear is a special organ through which the brain feels the outside world.

IT IS NERVE CELLS IN THE SKIN that feel whatever comes in contact with the skin;

IT IS NERVE CELLS IN THE EYE that feel the rays of light; and

IT IS NERVE CELLS IN THE EAR that feel the sounds in the air.

(All are closely connected with the brain.)

Clothes, shoes and gloves protect the one from excess of heat or cold and friction:

The eyelids protect the eyes from excess of bright light:

And the **MAN WHO KNOWS** uses

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TO PROTECT HIS EARS FROM EXCESSIVE SOUNDS.

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THE TRUE VALUE OF MILK.

We quote from United States "Farmers'" Bulletin No. 74.

"The value of milk for nourishment is not as well understood as it should be. Many people think of it as a beverage rather than as a food."

"Milk ranks among the most digestible of the animal foods."

"Life can be supported for a long period on milk alone."

"Milk should not be regarded as a luxury, but as an economical article of diet."

"Milk can act as a carrier of infection, and it is therefore of the greatest importance that especial care be taken in the dairy to insure the cleanliness of milk"

The soldier and sailor are indebted to Mr. Gail Borden, the inventor of preserving milk in all its purity, that they are enabled to obtain the advantages of wholesome and substantial nourishment of pure milk whether in active service or not.

It probably would not have surprised Mr. Borden had he lived to read in *Ainslee's Magazine*, years after, this glowing record of the brand of milk which with true pioneer patriotism he had christened "Eagle":

"The explorer and the missionary are the advance agents of condensed milk. It goes wherever they venture, and when the missionary has children it is the one thing his household cannot do without. There is no wilderness where a discarded milk-tin does not glitter in the sun. It has blazed the way across Africa; it has been very near to the Pole, for Lieutenant Peary relates that eighteen years after the Greely Expedition cached canned rations in the frozen north he found the condensed milk as sweet and wholesome as ever. In the fastnesses of northern Luzon, where an American face had never been seen, General Young's soldiers found tins of condensed milk with the brand of the *Eagle*."

"Or could he have felt the industrial magnitude of the idea stirring within him? Could he have imagined that within fifty years some half-billion pounds of milk would be condensed annually in the United States alone, and that the firm of highest repute, and of greater output (using the milk of over one hundred thousand cows every year), would be his own creation, at this very day bearing his name, and conducted by his old associates—whose announcement, in the light of latest knowledge, is this:

"The most important and economical article of food is milk.

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"From infancy to old age, civilized man is never independent of milk as a food.

"Every scientific and exploring expedition for fifty years has included in its equipment a supply of Borden's condensed milk and evaporated cream, and the commissaries of all of the leading armies of the world are not considered complete, unless they have their supply of condensed milk."

THE marketing of a new device for the protection of the ears during gun-firing the **Elliott Ear Protector** makes the following remarks opportune:

Complex in arrangement, very delicate in structure and packed away from harm in a bony case, the temporal bone, are the membranes, little bones, tiny sandlike particles and microscopic nerve endings of the auditory nerve which constitute the essential organs of the ear. Though the ear is spoken of as an individual and separate organ, still it might better be thought of as the brain's hand, so intimate is the connection, and added to which is the fact

that the brain actually feels the outside world through the ear. Doubt no longer exists in the minds of scientific men that it is motion of the particles (molecules) of air which the brain feels through the ear and knows as sound.

Where there is motion there is force, so physics teaches, and it is this fact of force acting directly upon the ear that deserves consideration. Flinching, headache, ringing in the ears or head, and deafness are the well-known effects of gun reports and all are due either to the direct or reflex action of the unusual force which is permitted to enter the ear at the time the gun is fired.

Need of an ample and complete protection has long been felt by all who were connected directly with target-practice, and judging from personal and official reports the Elliott Ear Protector meets the necessity perfectly.

Since September, 1904, these Ear Protectors have been in use at the Sandy Hook Proving Grounds, and upon reports from there and other forts the Board of Ordnance and Fortification voted for adoption, and during March last the New York Arsenal purchased 4410 pairs for distribution among the 126 companies of Coast Artillery.

The Elliott Ear Protector merits the consideration of every officer of the service. All who are interested in guns and shooting should write the manufacturer, whose advertisement appears elsewhere in this JOURNAL, who will mail free upon request a brief and interesting pamphlet devoted to a description of the Elliott Ear Protector and the claims made for it.

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This company succeeds to and takes over the entire harness manufacturing business of the Studebaker Bros. Manufacturing Company. Its capital stock paid in is \$100,000.

Improved facilities have been arranged for that will give the Studebaker Harness Company a modernly equipped, up-to-date factory, prepared to enlarge its scope as occasion may require and take care of a rapidly growing trade. The company will manufacture all grades of harness, collars, strap work and patent leather saddlery.

Its officers are Clement Studebaker, Jr., president; U. G. Speed, vice-president and general manager; N. J. Riley, treasurer; Scott Brown, secretary.

The company will be represented in a selling capacity by its own force of traveling salesmen, and in addition will enjoy all the facilities afforded by its affiliation with the several branch houses and 5,000 selling agencies of the Studebaker Bros. Manufacturing Company.